

*THE*  
**British & Philarch;**  
*OR,*  
**BIOGRAPHICAL ENTERTAINER.**

*Being a SELECT COLLECTION of*  
**The LIVES at large**  
**Of the most EMINENT MEN,**  
*Natives of Great Britain and Ireland;*  
**From the Reign of HENRY VIII. to GEORGE II.**

**Both inclusive:**

*Whether distinguished as*  
**Statesmen, | Warriors, | Poets, .....**  
**Patriots, .... | Divines, ... | Philosophers.**

*Adorned with COPPER PLATES.*  
**VOL. II**



*L O N D O N :*  
**Printed by the K<sup>ING</sup>'S Authority,**  
**For EDWARD DILLY, in the Poultry;**  
**MD CCLXII.**







G. R.

**W**HEREAS Our trusty and well-beloved  
EDWARD DILLY, of our city of London, Bookseller, hath, by his petition, humbly represented unto us, that he hath undertaken to print and publish a work called *The British Plutarch, or Biographical Entertainer*; being a select collection of the lives at large of the most eminent men, natives of Great-Britain and Ireland, from the reign of king Henry the Eighth, to that of Our late Royal Grandfather, both inclusive: in the prosecution of which he hath been at great trouble and expence in procuring access to antient records, memoirs, papers, and other authentic intelligence: as well as engaging several gentlemen of learning and abilities, to compile from those materials, in such a stile and method, as to render that work more amusing and universally useful, than any thing of the kind that has hitherto made its appearance. And, being desirous of reaping the fruits of his said labour and expence, and enjoying the full profit and benefit that may arise from vending the above-mentioned valuable

able work, without any other person's interfering in his just property : he hath therefore most humbly prayed Us to grant him Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work. We do therefore, by these Presents, so far as may be agreeable to the statute in that case made and provided, grant unto him, the said EDWARD DILLY, his executors, administrators, and assigns, Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work, for the term of fourteen years ; strictly forbidding all Our subjects, within Our kingdoms and dominions, to reprint, abridge, or publish the same, either in the like, or any other volume, or volumes, whatsoever ; or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute, any copies thereof reprinted beyond the seas, during the aforesaid term of fourteen years, without the consent and approbation of the said EDWARD DILLY, his heirs, executors, and assigns, under their hands and seals first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Wherefore the commissioners, and other officers of the customs, the master, wardens, and company of stationers, are to take notice, that due obedience may be rendered to Our will and pleasure herein declared.

*Given at Our Court at St. James's, this 20th  
Day of January, 1762, in the second Year  
of Our reign.*

By His MAJESTY's Command,  
EGREMONT.

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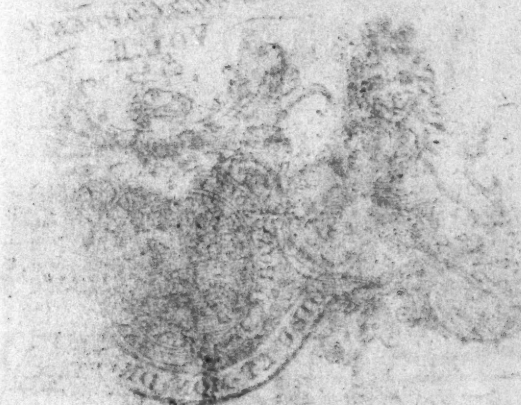
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 BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA  
 OF THE MOST EMINENT  
 STATESMEN, MILITARY  
 AND NAVAL OFFICERS,  
 AND OTHERS OF GREAT DISTINCTION  
 FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.  
 TO THE PRESENT TIME.  
 BY  
 JOHN G. FROTHINGHAM, ESQ.  
 OF THE BARR, LINCOLN'S INN.  
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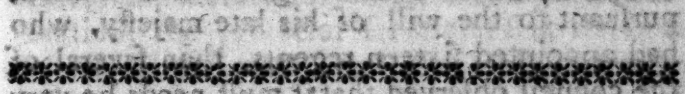
*S. Wale delin.*

*J. Poynter sculp.*

*Seymour D.<sup>t</sup> of Somerset.*



THE  
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF  
EDWARD SEYMOUR.

(Including Memoirs of Lord SUDLEY.)



**E**DWARD Seymour, who was afterwards invested with the dignity of protector, during the minority of Edward the VI. was of a noble and antient family which came from Normandy with William the Conqueror, and brother to Jane Seymour, with whom Henry the VIII. married, immediately after the death of Anne Bullen: till after this event writers have left us no account of him; but then he was created lord Seymour, and viscount Beauchamp, and then earl of Hertford; from which time he always held a distinguished rank at court, and the king having employed him in several military expeditions, he acquitted himself in such a manner, as gained him more and more the confidence of his royal master.





At the time of Henry's death, he was lord chamberlain, and being uncle to the new monarch, he was sent to inform young Edward, who was then at Enfield, of his father's decease, and to conduct him up to London. But no sooner was the forms of government settled, pursuant to the will of his late majesty, who had appointed sixteen regents, than several of the council observed that it must needs be very troublesome for the people, and especially for foreign ministers, to be under a necessity of applying to sixteen persons of equal authority, and proposed that some one should be chosen head and president, with the title of protector. This motion was vigorously opposed by the lord chancellor Wrothesly, who easily perceived that the dignity would be conferred on the earl of Hertford, by which means, his own power, being by his office, as things then stood, the second person in the regency, would suffer great demination; but Seymour had so great a party in the council, that the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative, and it was unanimously agreed, on account of his relation to the king, and his experience in state affairs, that he should be declared regent and governor of the king's person, which was accordingly done, but with this express condition, that he should not undertake or perform any thing, without the consent of all the other executors to Henry's will.

The lord chancellor, who made the greatest opposition to the earl of Hertford's advancement,

ment,

ment, could expect but little favour from the new protector. The emulation that subsisted between them soon became very conspicuous; and the nation, being then divided between those who were attached to the old superstition, and those who desired a compleat reformation, the protector set himself at the head of the latter party, and the lord chancellor of the former; and shortly after, the protector was created duke of Somerset, at the same time that others of the regents and consellers had new dignities conferred on them, upon the testimony of certain witnesses, to whom king Henry, just before his death, had opened his mind, concerning the honours he proposed to confer on those he distinguished with so high a trust. But besides the secular honours conferred on the earl of Hertford, we are informed by Dr. Burnet, that he had six good prebendaries promised him; two of these being afterwards converted into a deanery and treasurer'ship: and on the sixth of February, 1746, the lord protector knighted the king, being impowered so to do by letters patent. So it seems, that as the laws of chivalry required that the king should receive knighthood from the hands of some other knight, so it was judged too great a presumption for his own subject to give it, without a warrant under the great seal.

The lord chancellor Wrothesly was as has been already observed, the protector's adversary, and a great enemy to the reformation;

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and the reformed. The protector wished to be rid of him, as did likewise the major part of the regents; and he soon afforded them a plausible pretence. Resolving to apply chiefly to affairs of state, he had on the 18th of February, put the great seal to a commission directed to the master of the rolls, and three masters in chancery, empowering them to execute the lord chancellor's office in the court of chancery, in as ample a manner as if he himself were present. This being done by his own authority, without any warrant from the lord protector, and the other regents, complaint was brought before the council, and it was ordered that the judges should give their opinions concerning the case in writing. Their answer was, that the chancellor being only entrusted with his office, he could not commit the exercise thereof to others without the royal consent, that by so doing he had by the common law, forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and imprisonment during the king's pleasure. The chancellor fell into a great passion with the judges on this opinion being delivered in council, nay, he went so far as to tell the protector that he held his office of lord chancellor by an undoubted authority, since he held from it the king himself; whereas it was a great question whether he was lawfully protector. But this haughtiness was far from mending the matter, he was immediately confined to his house till farther orders. Then it was debated what his punishment

punishment should be : it was not judged expedient to divest him of the regency, but to render it useless to him he was left under an arrest, and the great seal was taken from him, and given to the lord St. John, till another chancellor should be appointed. So he remained in confinement till the 19th of July 1547, when he was released from imprisonment upon entering into recognizance of four thousand pounds, to pay whatever fine the court should think fit to impose upon him.

After the protector had got rid of this troublesome rival, he thought of nothing but how to have the sole management of affairs, and to be protector indeed, To attain his ends, he represented to the regents and council, that it was controverted by several persons, whether they could, by their sole authority, name a protector ; that the French ambassador in particular, had hinted, that he did not think he could safely treat with him without knowing whether he was duly authorised, since his title might be contested for the want of authority in those who had conferred it. So the protector, and the council, on the 13th of March 1547, petitioned the king, that they might act by a commission under the great seal, which might empower and justify them in what they were to do. This patent being drawn, and the great seal set to it, the protector became all in all : he governed with an absolute sway, being under no obligation to consult with any but what were devoted to him :



him: but on the other hand, this step, with some others of the like nature, which he made afterwards, drew upon him the ill will and envy of many persons, particularly the nobility, who made him in the end feel the effects of their resentment.

In the year 1547 began a war with Scotland, of which it is proper to speak in this place, as the protector was the principal person concerned in it. Henry VIII. had left his affairs with that kingdom in such a situation, that there was a necessity for desisting from the marriage agreed upon between Edward, and the young queen, mentioned in the life of cardinal Beaton, or of procuring the treaty to be executed by force of arms. Henry II. of France, had already declared he would assist the Scots to the utmost of his power; the projected marriage was however so advantageous to England, that it was well worth exerting an effort to bring it about; besides Henry VIII. had so expressly ordered before he died, that all possible means should be used to accomplish it, that the protector thought he could not be excused from taking some steps to shew he was willing to execute his late master's orders, who all along flattered himself that the inconveniencies and dangers of a war would in the end oblige the Scots to execute the treaty. For this purpose every thing being prepared, and the protector ready to set out in order to command the army, the French ambassador desired him to consent to a negotiation

negociation before hostilities were begun ; and the duke being willing to keep fair with France, complied with the request, and conferences were opened on the 14th of August. Tonstall, who was first plenipotentiary, had orders to yield to every thing, provided the Scotch commissioners should have power to agree to the marriage, otherwise he was to break off the congress, which condition rendered the negociation ineffectual : for the Scots had nothing like it in their instructions ; so the protector, putting himself at the head of the English army, entered the territories of Scotland, the third of September, 1547. with a force of fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, having the earl of Warwick for his lieutenant general.

He took some castles in this march, particularly the castle of Broughty, near the Tay's mouth, where he left a garrison of two hundred men. In a few days he came within sight of the Scotch army, thirty thousand strong, with thirty pieces of cannon : it expected him on the field of Pinkey, near Maf-felburgh. Of this army ten thousand were commanded by the regent, eight thousand by the earl of Angus, eight thousand by the earl of Huntley, and four thousand by the earl of Argyle. The Scots were heated with their old national quarrel to England, and in order to encourage the army, it was given out that twelve gallies and fifty ships were on the sea from France, and that they looked for them

band

every day. The duke of Somerset had undertaken this war against his will, and purely to avoid the blame of a contrary conduct; the sight of the enemy's army, so superior to his own, did not increase his desire to decide the affair by the way of arms; wherefore he wrote to the earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, desiring him to be tender of the effusion of so much Christian blood, telling him that this war was made for no other design than a perpetual peace, by the marriage of their two princes; adding, that the Scots were to be much more gainers by it than the English, but if they would not agree to that he offered, that their queen should be bred up among them, and not at all contracted, till she came of age, that by the consent of the estates, she might choose a husband for herself. If they would agree to this, he would immediately retire with his army, and make satisfaction for the damage the country had undergone by his invasion.

But these terms, advantageous as they were, were rejected by the Scotch, they knew the English were distressed for provisions, and thought themselves so much superior, that they determined, at the instigation of the French faction, to force their enemies to an engagement the next day; and that the fair offers made by the protector, might but raise a division among them, the regent having communicated these to a few of his friends, was persuaded to suppress them, and a report was spread

spread that the English general would not listen to a peace unless the queen was put into his hands: however, the regent sent a trumpeter to the English army with an offer to let them go back unmolested; but the protector being aware that so mean an action in the beginning of his administration, would quite ruin his reputation, rejected it with disdain. To this, a person that came with the trumpeter, added another message from the earl of Huntley, that the protector and he, with ten or twenty of a side, or singly, should decide the quarrel by their proper valour. The protector said, this was no personal quarrel, and the trust he was in, obliged him not to expose himself in such a way; and therefore he would fight only at the head of his army. The earl of Warwick, however, offered to accept the challenge, but the earl of Huntley declared afterwards, that he had sent no such challenge; and said that it was unreasonable for him to expect that the duke of Somerset should have answered it; and that it would have been an affront to the regent of Scotland, to have taken it off his hands, since he was the only person that might have challenged the protector on equal terms. The truth of the matter is, a gentleman, who went along with the trumpeter, made him do it without warrant, thinking that the answer to it would have taken up some time, during which he might have viewed the enemy's camp.



The two armies were parted by the river Esk: the English were encamped about two miles on the south side, and the Scots along the river side, on the north, so if the Scots had been willing to avoid a battle, very probably the English would never have attempted to pass the river within sight of the enemy. Mean time the protector having formed a design of approaching the Scots, and gaining a rising ground on the left, which commanded their camp, moved forward with his whole army: but the Scots having had notice of it, immediately passed the river, and possessed themselves of that post. The protector having missed his aim, marched to the right towards the coast, in order to encamp on a little hill, which was not far from the river. This march made the Scots imagine he was approaching the sea, on purpose to put his ordnance and baggage on board the fleet which had entered the Frith, that he might retreat the more easily. The whole Scotch army was so prepossessed, that they looked upon the English as already conquered by their fears. Mean while the protector had posted himself on the hill, and made some intrenchments before his camp; this confirmed the Scots in their opinion, that it was only a feint, in order to retire in the night, so resolving to prevent the English from putting this imaginary design in execution, they advanced in good order to give battle. The moment the protector had received intelligence of their march, he

## EDWARD SEYMOUR. 11

he drew up his army, part on the hill, and part on the plain, and waited the coming of the enemy. He had fixed his artillery in an advantageous place, that commanded the whole plain, and on the other side, his fleet was near enough to be able to fire upon the enemy in flank, nay there was a galliot, which being lighter than the rest of the ships, came very near the land, and annoyed the Scotch army extremely.

On the tenth of September, 1547, the two armies drew out, and fought in the field of Pinkey, near Musselburgh. The English had the advantage of the ground, and, in the beginning of the action, a cannon ball from one of the English ships killed the lord Grame's eldest son, and twenty-five men more, which put the earl of Argyle's highlanders into such a fright, that they could not be kept in order; but, after a charge given by the earl of Angus, in which the English lost some few men, the Scots gave ground, and the English observing that, and breaking in furiously upon them, the Scots threw down their arms and fled, the English pursued hard, and slew them without mercy; fourteen thousand were killed, and one thousand five hundred taken prisoners, among whom was the earl of Huntley, and five hundred gentlemen, and all the artillery was taken. This loss threw all Scotland into the utmost consternation, the regent and the queen retired to Stirling, with the remains of their army, having first garrisoned the castle of

Edinburgh, thus leaving the frontiers to be ravaged by the English. A few days after, the protector took Leith, and the English fleet, commanded by the lord Clinton, likewise burnt several sea port towns in the county of Fife, with all their ships in their harbours. He also put a garrison in the isle of St. Columba in the Frith, of about two hundred soldiers, and left two ships to wait on them. He then sent the earl of Warwick's brother, Sir Ambrose Dudley, to secure the Broughty, a castle in the mouth of the Tay, in which he left two hundred soldiers, which done, he marched to Edinburgh, and entering without any opposition, plundered the city. But he neither took the castle of Edinburgh, nor did he go to Stirling, where the queen with the stragglers of the army lay. Such a terror had seized all Scotland, that if the protector had followed his success vigorously, it can scarce admit of a doubt that he would have forced the regent to give up the young queen, or would have subdued the kingdom; but some private reasons pressed his return, and made him forego the advantages which were in his hands, so that the Scots had time to bring succours out of France.

The earl of Warwick, who had a great share in the honour of the victory, knew that the protector's errors in conduct, would much diminish his glory, and this he was by no means displeased at. On the 18th of September therefore, in the year 1547, the protector  
drew

drew his army back into England, having received a message from the queen, and the governor of Scotland offering a treaty, he ordered them to send commissioners to Berwick, to treat with those he should appoint. As he returned through the Merch, and Teviotdale, all the chief men in those countries repaired to him, and took an oath to king Edward: they then delivered into his hands all the places of strength in their countries. He left a garrison of two hundred men in Home castle, under command of Sir Edward Dudley, and fortified Roxburgh, where, for to encourage the rest, he worked two hours with his own hands, and put three hundred soldiers, and an hundred pioneers into it, giving Sir Ralph Bulmer the command.

But there were some secret reasons which at this time co-operated to influence the protector's conduct. Sir Thomas Seymour, his youngest brother, was at this time left in England, a man of an envious and haughty disposition: he thought it hard that he should be only a privy counsellor, when the king had made his brother one of the regents: he imagined, that being uncle to the king, he was entitled to much higher honour: and though, at his nephew's coronation, he was created lord Sudley, and in the same year was constituted lord high admiral of England, he was misled by the flattering delusions of ambition. Indeed the admiral immediately after King Henry's death, discovered his aspiring temper,

by



by paying his addresſes to the princeſs Elizabeth: but deſpairing of ſucceſs in his courtſhip, he turned to Catherine Parr, queen-dowager, and managed matters with ſuch addreſs, that he won her heart, and married her privately, without communicating it to the duke his brother; but having concealed his marriage for ſome time, he, without the protector's knowledge, found means to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for a husband. As ſoon as he got this letter, he declared his marriage, without giving himſelf any trouble about his brother. Hence their quarrel firſt took riſe: but the protector, who was endowed with a quality eſſential to a courtier, namely, moderation, did his utmoſt to prevent their quarrel from breaking out, though he all along entertained a ſecret antipathy to his brother.

It ſeems to admit of no doubt, that the protector's ſecret enemies fomented the admiral's ambition, by the praiſes they beſtowed upon him, confirming him in the ill opinion he had entertained of the duke his brother. He began his cabals about Eaſter, by gaining over the king's ſervants to his intereſt, that they might eſpouſe his cauſe with their young maſter, and endeavour to make him continue his good opinion of him. By their aſſiſtance, he ſo contrived it, that the king frequently came to his houſe to ſee his mother-in-law. He ſtrictly enjoined the king's ſervants, whom he had corrupted, to let him know when his  
majesty.

## EDWARD SEYMOUR. 15

majesty had occasion for money, telling them that they need not always trouble the treasury ; for he would be ready to furnish him. With this he thought a young king would be taken : so it happened, that the first time Latimer preached at court, the king sent to the admiral to know what present he should make him ; Seymour sent him forty pounds, but said, he thought twenty would be enough to give Latimer, and the king might dispose of the rest as he pleased. Thus he gained ground with the king, whose sweetness of temper exposed him to be easily won by such artifices. It has been said by many, that all this misunderstanding between the brothers was first occasioned by their wives ; and that the protector's lady being offended, that the younger brother's wife should have that precedence, which she looked upon as her own right, thereupon raised and inflamed the difference. But it is not at all reasonable to imagine, that the duchess of Somerset should be so weak, as to think to have the precedence of the queen dowager : it is therefore highly probable, that this story is a mere fiction, though there might, upon other accounts, have been some animosity between the two ladies, who were both equally high-spirited, which might afterwards have been thought to have given occasion to their husband's quarrel.

The protector was no sooner gone to Scotland, but the admiral renewed his cabals with less reserve than before. His pretensions were, that,

that, as in former times, the kings of England had had governors of their person, distinct from the protectors of their realms, which trusts were divided between their uncles; he should therefore himself be made governor of the king's person, alledging, that since he was the king's uncle, as well as his brother, he ought to have an equal share with him in the government. In order to effect his purpose, he dealt money to several persons, and never ceased paying his court to the king: nay, he obtained, unknown to his brother, a new and more ample patent for the office of lord admiral, with an addition of two hundred marks to the salary. Sir William Paget, who was devoted to the protector, and perhaps had orders to watch the admiral, seeing how he increased in favour with the king, expostulated with him in plain terms. He asked him, why he attempted to reverse that, which himself and others had consented to under their hands? Their family was now so great, that nothing but their mutual quarrelling could do them any prejudice; but there would not be wanting officious men to inflame them, if once they were divided among themselves. But all his remonstrances were ineffectual; for the admiral was resolved to go on, and either get himself advanced higher, or perish in the attempt.

It was the knowledge of this, that forced the protector to return from Scotland in the midst of his victories, in order to secure his  
interest

interest with the king, on whom his artifices had made a considerable impression; for the young monarch was much better pleased to have for governor an uncle, who had all the condescension possible for him, than one who was not so complaisant, but kept him more in awe. So, his age not permitting him to make other reflections on this matter, he wrote with his own hand a message to the House of Commons, desiring them to make the admiral the governor of his person. This Sudley intended to have carried himself to the house, where he had a party, by whose means he was confident of carrying his point. He dealt also with many of the lords and the counsellors to assist him in it; and when his design took air, the council sent some lords to him in his brother's name, to reason the case with him, and prevail with him to proceed no farther. He refused to hearken to them, saying, That if he was crossed in his attempt, he would make this the blackest parliament that ever was in England: whereupon he was sent for next day by order from the council, but refused to come. He was then severely threatened, and told, that the king's writing was nothing in law; but that he, who had procured it, was liable to be punished for doing an act of such a nature; so they resolved to have him divested of all his offices, and sent to the Tower, and prosecuted upon the act of parliament, which made it death to disturb the government. This menace terrified him: he plainly saw, though



though he had the king on his side, a young prince, who was but just entered into his eleventh year, would not have resolution enough to support him, contrary to the advice of the protector and the council; he chose therefore to submit himself, and his brother and he seemed perfectly reconciled. However, as the protector had reason to have a watchful eye over him, so it was but too evident he had not laid aside his ambitious projects, but only deferred the execution of them till a fitter conjuncture.

The protector had gained honour in the Scotch campaign, having in the whole expedition lost not above sixty men, if we may credit the relation of an historian, who wrote an account of it at the time; the Scotch writers themselves do not say he lost above two or three hundred. He had taken eighty pieces of cannon, and bridled the two chief rivers of the kingdom by the garrisons he left in them, and had left many garrisons in the strong places on the frontiers. It may be easily imagined, that must greatly raise his reputation, especially with the people; but he was exposed to the envy of the nobles, who, if Sir John Hayward is to be credited, had not much esteem for him. The opposition of sentiments between the nobles and people, proved greatly prejudicial to him; it induced him to rely too much on the people's favour. As by the patent which the king had given him he was not obliged to follow the advice  
of

of the council, he generally consulted only such as were devoted to him, and overlooked the rest, as if there were no such men. This behaviour seemed at first a little extraordinary, in one who was by no means naturally proud or haughty, but rather humble, modest, and civil. The best reason that can be assigned for this his conduct is his great zeal for the reformation, which he was bent on promoting by all manner of means. This was doubtless what made him think it necessary to remove from the administration those who were not actuated with the same zeal with himself, that he might lessen their opposition as much as possible. Besides, he had passed a great part of his life in the court of Henry VIII. where he had seen arbitrary power carried to the greatest height; and, as Henry's severity had been successful, he thought it advisable to regulate his conduct by much the same maxims. The catholic party, in order to retard the progress of the reformation, engaged the lady Mary to espouse their cause: she therefore wrote to the protector to let him know, that she looked upon all innovations in religion, till the king came of age, to be altogether inconsistent with the respect they owed her father's memory, and equally so, with their duty to their young master, to hazard the peace of his kingdom, and engage his authority in such points, before he was capable of forming a judgment concerning them. Her letter is not extant, but that such was the purport

port of it, appears from the protector's answer. Some days before the meeting of the parliament in the year 1547, the lord Rich was made lord chancellor, and on the third of November, the day before the opening of the parliament, the protector, by a patent under the great seal, was warranted to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, under the cloth of state, whether the king was present or not, and moreover was to enjoy all the honours and privileges that any of the uncles of the kings of England, or any protector, had ever enjoyed. This proceeding was a clear evidence, that the duke of Somerset's intention was not only to be above all, but even to destroy by degrees the very remembrance of the form of government established by Henry VIII. though he did not neglect to get this patent approved by the council, before it was sealed; yet that could by no means entirely justify him. It was well known, that the king did nothing but by his direction; that the council was guided by him; and that it would have been very dangerous for the counsellors directly to oppose a patent which concerned him in particular. As the parliament was this year very favourable to the reformation, particularly passing an act to abolish private masses, and to grant the cup to the people in the communion, it seems highly probable, that it was entirely guided by the duke of Somerset.

But

But now the admiral began again to distribute money among the king's servants, and never ceased endeavouring, both by himself and by those whom he had gained, to infuse into his majesty a dislike of the protector, and his other ministers: nay, his insinuations were so powerful with Edward, that he was often induced to assume the government himself, which made the protector set spies about the admiral, as he began to look upon him as a dangerous enemy. But notwithstanding the great mortification the admiral had already undergone, he still continued his practices, in spite of the warnings which were given him from time to time, that they would end in his ruin.

The queen dowager, who had married him, died in September, 1548, and it was strongly suspected by many, that she had been taken off by poison. She was a good and virtuous lady; and, through the whole course of her life, had given no handle to censure, except when she married the admiral, contrary to all the laws of decency, and so soon after the king's death. There was found, amongst her papers, a discourse which she had written concerning herself, entitled, "The lamentation of a sinner;" it was published by Cecil, who wrote a preface to it. In it she with great sincerity acknowledges the sinful life which she had led for many years; during which she, relying on external performances, such as fasts and pilgrimages, was all that while a stranger to the internal and true power of religion,



gion, which she came afterwards to feel by the study of the scriptures, and the calling upon God for his holy spirit. She also explains therein the notion she had of justification by faith, so that holiness necessarily follows upon it; but lamented the great scandal given by many gospellers, for so all those were called, who addicted themselves to the study of the scriptures.

After her death, the admiral resolved to renew his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, but did not meet with that encouragement which he flattered himself with the hopes of; which attempt occasioned an act for declaring the marriage of the king's sisters, without the consent of council, to be treason. But finding himself baffled in this design, he turned his thoughts another way, in order to gratify his ambition. It is said, he formed a design to carry away the king to his house of Holt, to dispossess the protector, and to seize the government himself: for this end he laid in magazines of arms, and listed about two thousand, others say, ten thousand men, in several different places. He moreover entered into a treaty with several of the nobility that envied his brother's greatness, and were not displeased to see the difference between them grown irreconcilable. To these he promised, that they should be of the council, and that he would dispose of the king in marriage to one of their daughters.

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Some historians have advanced, that the protector being informed of all his proceedings, shewed himself extremely patient towards him, and refused to carry things to extremity, till he saw plainly, that one or other must inevitably be ruined. But, as Mr. Rapin justly observes, we cannot entirely rely upon what historians say of the admiral's private designs, or of the protector's forbearance: for, as some make it their business to blacken the protector's reputation as much as possible, so others strive to vindicate all his actions. It is, however, out of dispute, that the admiral was not satisfied with his condition, and that at last, his ambition appearing incurable, he was, on the nineteenth of January, committed to the Tower; and the day following, the seal of his office was sent for, and put into secretary Smith's hands; after which, many things appeared against him; but the affair was suspended till the 28th of February.

In the mean time, the war with Scotland occasioned the protector great uneasiness. He was very sensible, that it was a ridiculous thing to think of getting the king's marriage with the queen of Scotland accomplished by way of arms, in spite of the queen dowager, the regent, and the council; besides, he knew France was preparing to send them a very powerful aid; and therefore he saw plainly, that it would be a very hard task to succeed in this undertaking; besides, that it was very likely this war would occasion a rupture with France.

France. Add to this, that nothing was more repugnant than a war to his design of promoting the reformation. He would have been very glad if the regent of Scotland would have accepted a ten years truce, which he sent him the offer of: but the Scots would by no means consent to it, because France had promised them a powerful aid. The protector was therefore forced, against his will, to continue the war; but, as he did not chuse to command the army himself, he gave the command of it to Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, whom he appointed his lieutenant. On this occasion he plainly discovered that he intended to stretch the prerogatives of the protectorship as high as they could go, since he would have the earl to take his commission of him. However, as the patent he had obtained the 13th of March last year did not so clearly give him the power of nominating his own lieutenant, he ordered another to be prepared, wherein his prerogatives were more fully explained and enlarged.

In this war, which was carried on with but indifferent success, the protector made use of some German troops; and those of the landgrave of Hesse also having no leader in the empire, had offered themselves to him, and were readily entertained in his service. This had raised great murmurings against him, the English being impatient of seeing in the kingdom foreign troops, who are generally too much devoted to the king. It was easy

to perceive, that the protector's aim was to strengthen him personally with the aid of these foreigners. The protector could not even escape the censure of those of his own party : he and the archbishop of Canterbury, who were the chief supporters of the reformation, carried it on with great zeal, though always with an eye to the rule they had laid down, of proceeding gradually. Whatever reasons they might have for taking that course, the zealous of the reformed party were not pleased with it, because they were afraid, that by some sudden unexpected turn, the work would be left unfinished. They knew the protector was hated and envied by many of the nobility, and that all the Romish party had a mortal aversion for him. This made them apprehend, that his enemies would at length get the better of him, the administration he was entrusted with being of such a nature, that it was hardly possible but it would afford some handle against him.

During this interval it is said, that the protector made another attempt to gain his brother ; and, as he had, since their first breach, granted him eight hundred pounds a year in land, so he now did his utmost to persuade him to submit, and retire from court and all employment. But the hatred the admiral bore the protector being insurmountable, on the 22d of February a full report was made to the council, with an accusation consisting of thirty-three articles.



It seems highly probable, that Lord Sudley was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, since he answered only the three first articles, and that with much reluctance. The particulars of his charge were so manifestly proved, not only by witnesses, but by letters under his own hand, that it did not seem possible to deny them. Yet, when he was first sent to, and examined by some of the privy counsellors, he refused to make a direct answer, or to sign the answers he had made; so it was ordered, that, on the next day, all the privy council, except the archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir John Baker, speaker to the House of Commons, who was obliged to attend at the house, should go to the Tower, and examine him. Accordingly, the lord-chancellor, with the other privy counsellors, repaired to the Tower, and read to him the articles of his charge: they then earnestly desired him to make plain answers, to excuse himself where he could, and submit where he could not, without shewing any obstinacy of mind. To this he answered, that he expected an open trial, and to have his accusers confronted with him. The privy-counsellors used all the arguments they could think of to persuade him to be more tractable, but to no purpose. At last, the lord-chancellor required him, on his allegiance, to make his answer. He persisted to refuse making any answer, without having the articles left with him, that he might con-

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sider of them at leisure ; but the counsellors would not consent to leave them with him on those terms.

On the 29th of February, 1549, it was resolved in council, that the whole board should, after dinner, acquaint the king with the state of the affair, and desire to know whether it was his pleasure that the law should take place, and whether he would leave the determination of the affair to the parliament, as it had been laid before them ; so cautiously did they proceed in a case which concerned the life of their young king's uncle. But the youthful monarch was aware of his seditious temper, and had been much alienated from him some time since. When the counsellors waited on his majesty, the lord-chancellor opened the matter to him, declaring it, as his opinion, that it should be left to the parliament. Then the other counsellors gave their opinions, in which they all agreed with the lord-chancellor. The protector spoke last : he protested, that this affair gave him the greatest concern ; that he had done his utmost to prevent it from coming to such an extremity ; but, were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood ; and that therefore he was not against the request that the other lords had made. He added, That if he himself were guilty of such offences, he should think he were unworthy of life ; and the rather, because he was, of all men, the most  
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bound to his majesty; and therefore he could not refuse justice. The king's answer was as follows: "We perceive, that there are great things objected and laid to my lord high admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason; and, we perceive, that you require but justice to be done, we think it reasonable, that you proceed according to your request." Which words, (as it is observed in the council-book) coming so suddenly from his grace's mouth, of his own motion, as the lords might perceive, they were marvellously rejoiced, and gave the king most hearty praise and thanks: yet resolved, that some of both houses should be sent to the admiral, before the bill should be put in against him, to see what he could or would say.

All this was done in order to bring him to a submission: so the lord-chancellor, the earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Southampton; and Sir John Baker, Sir Thomas Cheyney, and Sir Anthony Denny, were sent to him. He long continued obstinate, but was at last prevailed upon to give an answer to the first three articles; and then he stopped on a sudden, and bid them be content, for he would go no farther; and no intreaties could work on him, either to answer the rest, or to set his hand to the answers he had made.

On the 25th of February, 1550, the bill was put in for attainting him, and the peers had been so accustomed to agree to such bills in king Henry's time, that they made no difficulty

ficulty to pass it. All the judges, and the king's council, were unanimous in their opinions, that the articles were treason. Then the evidence was brought ; many lords gave it so fully, that all the rest, with one voice, consented to the bill ; only the protector, for natural pity's sake, as it is said in the council-book, desired leave to withdraw. On the 27th, the bill was sent down to the commons, with a message, that if they desired to proceed as the lords had done, those lords that had given their evidence in their own house, should come down, and declare it to the commons. But there was much opposition made to it in the House of Commons. They could not forbear exclaiming against attainders in absence, and the irregular manner of judging the accused, without confronting them with the witnesses, or hearing their defence. It was thought a very unwarrantable method of proceeding, that some peers should rise up in their places, in their own house, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should thereupon be attainted : they pressed therefore that it might be done by a trial ; and that the admiral might be brought to the bar, and allowed to plead for himself. They would, in all probability, have thrown out the bill, if the king had not sent them a message, that he did not think the admiral's presence, necessary ; and that it was sufficient they should examine the depositions which had been produced in the House of Lords.



The king having thus intimated his pleasure, the commons, in a full house of four hundred, passed the bill, not above ten or twelve voting in the negative. It is very probable, they were satisfied of the truth of the depositions, and that the point in question being only an irregularity, which was even become a custom, they did not believe this a proper season to reform it. The bill being passed, the royal assent was given on the fifth of March, 1549, and on the tenth of the same month the council resolved to press the king, that justice might be done on the admiral. It is said, in the council-book, that since the case was so heavy and lamentable to the protector, though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the king nor he should be further troubled with it. After dinner, they went to the king, the protector being with them. The king said, He had well observed their proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his safety, and commanded them to proceed in it, without further molesting him or the protector, and ended, "I pray you, my lords, do so." Upon this, the bishop of Ely had orders to attend the admiral, and instruct him in the things that relate to a future state, and prepare him to meet his fate with patience and resignation: and, on the 17th of March, he having made report of his attendance on the admiral, the council signed a warrant for his execution, in  
pursuance

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purfuance whereof the admiral was beheaded on the 20th of March 1549.

The protector upon this occasion incurred very fevere censures, for consenting to his death. It was said if the admiral was guilty, it was only against his brother, whom he would have supplanted, and it seems scarce to admit of a doubt, that it was this same brother who was his adversary, and brought him to the scaffold. Rapin tells us that he cannot help suspecting that they who had thoughts then of ruining the protector, feigned to be his friends, spurred him on to be revenged on his brother, and were very ready to serve as his instruments, but it seems much more probable that he did not want to be stimulated by them, and that he was like the Turk, unwilling to bear a brother near the throne, for which reason, the animosity of the nobles against the protector was greatly inflamed, as well as by his readiness to espouse the cause of the people. This appeared in an eminent manner on the following occasion. After the suppression of the abbeyes, there were vast numbers of monks dispersed through the kingdom, who were forced to work for their bread; their pensions being ill paid, or not sufficient for their subsistence. So the work being divided among so many hands, the profit became less than before, moreover, whilst the monasteries stood, their lands were let out at very easy rents to farmers, who, to cultivate them, were obliged to employ a vast number of people. But after

their lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility and gentry, the rents were much raised, whence it came to pass that the farmers, to make them turn to better account, were forced to employ fewer hands, and lessen the wages. On the other side, the proprietors of the lands, finding since the last peace with France, the woollen trade flourished, bethought themselves of breeding sheep, because wool brought them in more money than corn. To that end they caused their grounds to be inclosed: hence arose several inconveniencies. In the first place, the price of corn was raised to the great detriment of the lower sort of people, in the next place, the landlords or their farmers had occasion only for few persons to look after their flocks in grounds so inclosed. Thus many were deprived of the means of getting a livelihood, and the profit of the lands, which was before shared by a great many, was almost wholly engrossed by the landlords; this occasioned great complaints and murmurs among the common people, who saw they were likely to be reduced to great misery; nay, several little books were published, setting forth the mischief which must result from such proceedings. But the nobility and gentry continued the same course notwithstanding, without being at all solicitous about the consequences. The protector openly espoused the cause of the poor people, either to mortify the nobles, by whom he was detested, or, because he was aware of the mischiefs which might arise from popular discontent.

discontent. Having the year before appointed commissioners to examine, whether those who had the abbey-lands, kept hospitality, and performed all the conditions upon which those lands were sold them, but he met with so many obstacles in the execution of this order, that it produced no effect.

Thus the protector continued to aggravate the hatred of the nobility and gentry, who found their account in countenancing the abuses. Nay, it happened in the last session of the parliament, that the lords passed an act for giving every one leave to inclose his grounds if he pleased: but the bill was thrown out by the commons, and yet the lords and gentlemen went on in inclosing their lands; this occasioned a general discontent among the people, who had apprehensions of a formed design to ruin them, and reduce them to a state of slavery; upon this the common people made an insurrection in Wiltshire, but Sir William Herbert dispersed them, and caused some of them to be hanged. About the same time there were the like insurrections in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, and Worcestershire. The protector perceiving the flames were kindling all over the kingdom, sent to let the people know he was ready to redress their grievances, and by this means he stopped their fury; in order to perform his promise, he laid the affair before the council, hoping that some expedient



might be found to satisfy the malecontents : but he met with so great an opposition, that he thought it absolutely necessary to have recourse to his sole authority, and therefore, contrary to the opinion of the whole council, he issued out a proclamation against all new inclosures, and granted a general pardon to the people for what was past. He went further, contrary to the opinion of the council, he appointed commissioners with an unlimited power, to hear and determine causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages, these commissioners were much complained of by the nobility and gentry, who said openly, that it was an invasion of their property, to subject them to an arbitrary power, they even went so far as to oppose the commissioners when they offered to execute their commission ; for this reason the protector, whose measures were generally opposed, was not able to redress this grievance so fully as he desired. So the people finding the court did not perform what was promised, rose again in several places, and particularly in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. Those in Oxfordshire were immediately dispersed by the lord Gray ; the insurrection in Devonshire was more considerable and dangerous, that country abounding with people, who had only complied outwardly with the alterations made in religion ; the priests and monks ran in among them, and used their utmost efforts to foment the rebellion. They came together first on  
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the 10th of June, and in a short time they grew to be ten thousand strong. At first the protector neglected this affair, hoping this insurrection might be quelled as easily as the others had been. At last, perceiving they were bent to persist in their rebellion, he sent the lord Russel with a small force to stop their proceedings. The rebellion was soon quelled, and, during the continuance of it, the protector discovered, by the whole tenor of his conduct, that he did not desire to come to extremities with the rebels, being either persuaded that the people had reason to complain, or, desirous to gain their favour as a shield against the nobility, who hated him. Inso-much that after all the commotions were over, he moved in the council that there might be a general pardon proclaimed of all that was past, in order to restore the peace of the kingdom: but this motion met with great opposition; many of the council were for taking this occasion to curb the insolence of the people; but the protector being of another mind, gave out, by his sole authority, a general pardon of all that had been done before the 21st of August, and excepted out of it only a few rebel prisoners. He had power to act in this manner by virtue of his patent, but it drew upon him more the hatred of the nobles, as well as of a good part of the counsellors, who were highly mortified to see they were consulted only for form-sake, and that their opinions were of no manner of weight. It must, how-

ever, he acknowledged that England was by the prudence and moderation of the protector, delivered from one of the most threatening storms that at any time had broke out in it.

The war with Scotland was not successful, mean while the war, began by the king of France, made the duke extremely uneasy. He had received information that Henry II. was entered into a treaty with the German protestants, and had promised them a strong aid, as soon as he should have received Boulogne. On the other hand, as he was exceeding zealous for the reformation, he plainly saw nothing could be more advantageous, than the union of France with the German protestants, but he was sorry it was to cost the English Boulogne. He farther considered, that, if the war with France should last any time, there was some reason to fear the Romish party would be able to stir up troubles in the kingdom, and if they should, it was easy to see how difficult it would be to carry on three years war at once. In short, there was another reason which concerned him in particular, and made him desirous of a peace with France, this was, that the war might give his enemies too great an advantage, on account of the ill accidents it might be attended with, whereas a peace enabled him to parry their blows. He knew there was a strong faction already formed against him, as well by reason of the envy which always attends greatness, and of his having disoblged the nobility and gentry  
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in the business of inclosures, as because of the wrong he had done to many of the counsellors, in depriving them of the dignity of regents, and reducing them to the bare state of privy counsellors. Among these the chief were the earl of Southampton, who had taken his place again in the council, and the earl of Warwick. This last was immoderately ambitious, he envied the protector, and esteemed him but little.

The earl of Southampton perceiving this, suggested to him that he had, in reality, got all those victories, for which the protector triumphed, that he had won the field at Pinkey, near Musselburgh, and had subdued the rebels in Norfolk: and as he had before defeated the French, so, if he was sent over thither, new triumphs would follow him, but it was below him to be second to any. So he engaged him to oppose in all things the protector, all whose wary motions were ascribed to fear or dulness. To this he said, what friendship could be expected from a man who had no pity on his brother. The duke of Somerset had indeed given great grounds for jealousies against himself, but nothing drew upon him more public envy, than the noble palace he was raising in the Strand, which still bears his name. It was built from the ruins of some bishops houses, and churches, which rendered it more invidious to the people, it was said that whilst the king was engaged in such dangerous wars, and London much dis-

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ordered by the plague that had been in it some months, he was then bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a house as had not been seen in England. It was also said, that many bishops, and cathedrals had resigned many manors to him to obtain his favour: though this was not done without leave obtained from the king, for, in a grant of some lands made to him by the king, on the 11th of July, in the second year of his reign, it is said that these lands were given him as a reward of his services in Scotland, for which he was offered greater rewards: but, that he refusing to accept of such grants as might too much impoverish the crown, had taken a licence from the bishop of Bath and Wells, for alienating some of the lands of that bishopric to him. He is in that patent called by the grace of God, duke of Somerset; which expression, by the grace of God, had not been used for some years past but in speaking of sovereign princes. It was also said, that many of the chantry lands had been sold to his friends at easy rates; for which they concluded he had great presents, and an uncommon prosperity had raised him too high; so that he did not behave to the nobility with that condescension which might be expected from him.

All these things concurred to raise him many enemies, and he had very few friends; for none adhered firmly to him but Paget, and secretary Smith, and archbishop Cranmer, who was never known to forsake his friend. All those that favoured the old superstition were  
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his enemies; and, seeing the earl of Southampton at the head of the party against him, they all immediately joined with him. Goodrich, bishop of Ely, who was for the reformation, joined them likewise. He had attended the admiral in his preparation for death, from whom he had received very ill impressions of the protector. All his enemies were sensible, and he was sensible himself, that the continuance of the war would inevitably ruin him, and that a peace would confirm him in his power.

This consideration made the protector resolve to propose to the council the restitution of Boulogne to France: but though he backed this motion with all the reasons he thought most plausible, it was received by the council with signs of indignation, and considered as downright cowardice. It was too nice an affair for the protector to think of doing it by his own authority; and therefore, though he plainly perceived the opposite faction would carry it, he was willing his proposal should be debated in form.

The result of their consultation was, that Boulogne should not be restored, but that they should endeavour to make an alliance with the emperor for the security of that place. Paget was appointed for the embassy, because, being devoted to the protector, the ill success which attended this negotiation was designed to be thrown upon him, in order to asperse the protector himself.

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There had been so many ill reports published against the duke of Somerset, that it was not possible but that he should hear of them, and guess at the authors of them. Thus all the month of September was spent in disputes and heats, his enemies only seeking an occasion of quarrel, on purpose to execute what they had resolved. Several persons interposed to mediate, but to no effect; for now the faction against him was grown too strong. The protector seeing his enemies go openly to work, was apprehensive that they had formed a design to carry away the king. On the sixth of October, 1549, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel; Sir Edward North, Sir Richard Southwel, Sir Edmund Peckham, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, met at Ely-house in Holborn, and sat as the king's council. Secretary Petre being sent to them in the king's name, to ask the reason of their meeting, they forced him to stay with them.

Being thus met, they considered the state of the kingdom, and laid on the protector the blame of all the pretended disorders which were found there, and of the losses lately sustained in France. They then declared, that they had that very day intended to confer with him; but, hearing he had armed his servants, and many others whom he had placed about the king, they did not think themselves obliged to expose their defenceless persons to an armed force. This done, they sent for the lord-mayor,

mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, with the lieutenant of the Tower, and expressly forbid them to own the duke of Somerset for protector. The lieutenant of the Tower promised to obey. The mayor and aldermen answered more cautiously; but, in all likelihood, most part of them were already gained, as it plainly appeared two days after. The lord-chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord-chief-justice Montague, joined with them, being highly provoked at the protector removing the king to Windsor, upon receiving intelligence of the proceedings of the council against him, and arming such as he could gather about him at Windsor or Hampton-court.

The council at London complained much of this, that the king should be carried to a place where there were no provisions fit for him. So they ordered all things that he might need, to be sent to him from London. On the 8th of October 1549, they went in a body to Guildhall, where the common-council were met. They declared to it, that they were so far from having any ill designs against the king, that their sole aim was to take him out of the hands of the duke of Somerset, who only minded his own private interest. Upon which the common-council openly declared, they were ready to stand by them to the utmost of their power. No sooner was the duke informed,



informed, that not only the city of London, but the lieutenant of the Tower, of whom he thought himself secure, had forsaken him, but his heart failed him, and he resolved to struggle no longer; though it is not improbable, that he who was chiefly accused for his protecting the Commons, might have easily gathered a great body of men for his own preservation; but he thought it more adviseable to yield to the tide now against him.

Hereupon there was sent to London a warrant under the king's hand, for any two of the lords of the council that were there, to come to Windsor with twenty servants a piece, who had the king's faith for their safety in coming and going: and Cranmer, Paget and Smith wrote to them to end the matter peaceably, and not follow cruel councils, nor suffer themselves to be misled by those who meant otherwise than they professed of which they knew more than they would then mention. This seemed to be levelled at the earl of Southampton. On the 9th of October 1549, the council at London increased by the accession of lord Russell, lord Wentworth, sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Wingfield, and sir John Baker, the speaker of the house of Commons. For those who had been for a while attached to the protector, seeing he was resolved to submit, came and united themselves to the prevailing party; so that they were in all two and twenty. They were informed, that the protector had said, that if they intended to put him to death, the king should die first; and, if they would

would famish him, they should famish the king first; and that he had armed his own men, and set them next to the king's person, and had formed a design to carry him out of Windsor, and, as some said, out of the kingdom; upon which they declared him unworthy of the protectorship, though as no proofs of his having spoken those words, were mentioned in the council-books, they look like the forgeries of his enemies to make him odious to the people.

Of all the privy-counsellors only the archbishop of Canterbury and Paget stayed with the king, who seeing the impossibility of withstanding the opposite party, advised the king and the duke to give the council the satisfaction they required. The king consenting to it, the counsellors at London had notice of it by an express. As they had foreseen that the duke would be obliged to come to this, they sent deputies to Windsor with a charge, to see that the duke of Somerset did not withdraw, and that some of his confidants should be put under an arrest. On the 12th of October, the counsellors, enemies of the duke, came in a body to the king, who received them graciously, and assured them, that he took all they had done in good part. Next day they sat in council, and sent for those who were ordered to be kept in their chambers, except Cecil, who had his liberty. They charged them with being the duke of Somerset's chief instruments in all his most arbitrary proceedings; where-

wherefore they turned Smith out of his place of secretary, and sent him, with the rest, to the Tower.

But these articles seem to say as much for his justification, as the answers could do were they extant. Certain it is that he could not deny most of the facts he was charged with to be true; but the question is, Whether they were crimes? for he was neither accused of rapine, cruelty, or bribery; but only of such things as may be expected in men who are of a sudden raised to an exalted degree of greatness. The duke of Somerset bore his fall with greater evenness of temper than his prosperity. During his imprisonment in the Tower he had recourse to study and reading: and meeting with a book that treated of patience, both from the principles of modern philosophy and christianity, he was so well pleased with it, that he ordered it to be translated into English, and writ a preface to it himself, mentioning the great comfort he had found in reading it, which had induced him to take care that others might reap the like benefit from it. Peter Martyr writ him also a long consolatory letter, which was printed both in Latin and in an English translation; and all the reformed, both in England and abroad, looked on his fall as a public loss to that whole interest which he had so steadily set forward.

On the second of January, 1550, a bill of attainder was issued against the duke with a confession signed by his own hand. But as some

some of the lords suspected that this confession had been extorted from him, and urged, that it was an ill president to pass acts upon such papers, without examining the party, whether he had subscribed them free and uncompelled; they sent four temporal lords, and four bishops, to examine him concerning it. The next day the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield made the report, that he thanked them for that kind message; but, that he had freely subscribed the confession which lay before them; that he had made it on his knees before the king and council, and had signed it on the thirteenth of December. He protested his offences had flowed from rashness and indiscretion rather than malice, and, that he had no treasonable design against the king or his realms. Whereupon he was fined by act of parliament in two thousand pounds a year in land, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods, and the loss of all his places. So he was set at liberty, on the sixth of February, 1553, giving a bond of ten thousand pounds for his good behaviour, with a restriction, that he should stay at the king's house at Sheen, or his own of Lion, and should not go four miles from them, nor come to the king or counsel, unless sent for. On the 16th of February following, he received his pardon, and, after that, behaved with so much humility, that he was, on the tenth of April following, restored to favour by the king, and sworn of the privy council; and so the storm went over him more gently



gently than he expected. He forfeited, however, in a great measure, the esteem he had acquired among the people, who, not diving into the reasons of his conduct, could not help thinking him guilty, since he had confessed all : but the king judged otherwise, else he would not so soon have reinstated him in his favour.

The duke's ruin was only delayed, however. It was effected soon after, and one of the chief instruments in it was the earl of Warwick, who had joined with him in a near alliance ; the earl's eldest son, the lord Lisle, marrying the duke's daughter : so that there was then a prospect of happy times. But it resembled a deceitful calm, which is soon followed by an hideous storm. The earl of Warwick had formed an ambitious design to marry lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to the marquis of Dorset, to Guilford, his fourth son, and so to get the crown to descend on them in case the king should die ; of which, it is thought, he resolved to take care.

In order to facilitate the execution of his projects, his first effort was to alienate the king's affections from his uncle, by means of certain emissaries, who beset him continually. The second, was to occasion his enemy such mortification, as should excite him to act in such a manner as would give a handle against him. These two methods succeeded to his wish ; and it is pretended, that the duke of Somerset seeing himself thus pushed, resolved

to kill the duke of Northumberland at a visit he was to make him. However, this may be, it cannot be denied, but he had contrived some plot to be restored to his post, and perhaps imparted to his confidants several expedients, which were imputed to him afterwards as so many crimes, though he had put none of them in execution. He owed his ruin to one of these confidants, who was, in all probability, bribed by his enemy. This man, Sir Thomas Palmer by name, having been secretly brought to the king, told him all he knew, and probably gave such a turn to his discourse, as to make the king believe, that the duke of Somerset would have assassinated the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, wherefore, he consented that he should be brought to his trial.

On the 17th of October, 1551, he was apprehended and sent to the Tower, and with him the lord Gray, Sir Thomas Vane, who had escaped over the river, but was taken in a stable in Lambeth, hid under the straw. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Ralph Arundel, were also taken, yet not sent at first to the Tower, but confined in their chambers. The day after, the dutchess of Somerset was likewise sent to the Tower, with one Crane and his wife, that had been much about her, and two of her chambermaids. After these, Sir Thomas Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Wingfield, Bannister, and Vaughan, were all made prisoners.

And

As soon as the duke was in the Tower, his pretended crimes were spread abroad every where, with circumstances invented to impose upon the people. Upon these extravagant accusations, most historians have founded their accounts of this event. Dr. Burnet is the only one, whom we can depend upon with regard to the evidence against the duke: according to him, it appeared that he had made a party to get himself declared protector in the next parliament; which the earl of Rutland did positively affirm, and the duke's answer served only to confirm it to be true. But though this might well inflame his enemies, yet it was no crime. As to the means which the duke of Somerset intended to make use of, in order to attain his ends, it is highly probable he had devised several, but had yet fixed upon none, except that, perhaps, of securing the duke of Northumberland's person.

On the first of December the duke of Somerset was brought to his trial; the marquis of Winchester was lord high steward, the peers that judged being twenty-seven in number. The crimes with which he was charged, were cast into five several indictments, as it appears from the king's journal; whether indictments or articles is not clear. That he had designed to have seized on the king's person, and so to have governed all his affairs; and that he, with one hundred others, intended to have imprisoned the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northampton; and that he had designed to raise

raise an insurrection in the city of London. Now, by the act that passed in the last parliament, if twelve persons should have assembled together to have killed any privy counsellor, and did not, upon proclamation, disperse themselves, it was treason ; or, if such twelve had been, by any malicious artifice, brought together, for any riot, and being warned, did not disperse themselves, it was felony without benefit of clergy, or sanctuary.

It seemed very strange, that three peers, Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, against the first of whom it was pretended in the indictment, that he had conspired, should sit his judges : for though, by the law, no peer can be challenged in a trial, yet the law of nations, that is superior to all other laws, makes, that a man cannot be judge in his own cause ; and, what is very extraordinary, the lord-chancellor, though then a peer, was left out of the number ; but it seems probable, that the reconciliation between him and the duke of Somerset was then suspected, and that he was therefore excluded from the number of his judges.

The duke of Somerset being, it seems, little acquainted with the laws of the land, did not desire council to plead or assist him in point of law, but only answered to matters of fact. He began his defence, by requesting, that no advantage might be taken against him, for any idle word, or passionate expression, that might have at any time escaped him. He



protested, he never intended to have raised the northern parts; but had only, upon some reports, sent to Sir William Herbert, to intreat him to be his friend: that he had never formed a resolution to kill the duke of Northumberland, or any other person, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it: that, for the design of destroying the guards, it was ridiculous to think, that he, with a small troop, could destroy so strong a body of men, consisting of nine hundred; in which, though he had succeeded, it could have signified nothing: that he never intended to have raised any disturbances in London, but had always looked upon it as a place in which he was in perfect security: that his having men about him in Greenwich was with no ill design, since he did no mischief with them, even when it was in his own power; but, upon his attachment, rendered himself prisoner, without making any resistance. He likewise objected many things against the witnesses, and desired they might be brought face to face. He spoke much against Sir Thomas Palmer, the chief witness, in particular. But the witnesses were not brought, only their examinations were read. Upon this, the king's council pleaded against him, that to levy war was certainly treason: that, to assemble men, with an intention to kill privy-counsellors, was also treason: that to have men about him to resist the attachment, was felony; and, to assault the lords, or contrive their deaths, was felony.

When

When the peers withdrew, it seems, the proofs about his design of raising the north, or the city, or killing the guards, did not satisfy them. For all these had been, without all question, treasonable; so they held to that point of conspiring to imprison the duke of Northumberland. If he, with twelve men about him, had conspired to do that, and had continued together after proclamation, it was certainly felony; but that not being pretended, it seems there was no proclamation made. The duke of Suffolk was of opinion, that no contention among private subjects should be on any account screwed up to be high treason. The duke of Northumberland said, he would never consent that any practice against him should be reputed treason. After a great difference of opinion, they all acquitted him of treason; but the greater number found him guilty of felony; in which sentence they proceeded, in all appearance, upon a statute made in the time of Henry VII. which declared it felony to intend to take away the life of a privy-counsellor. This was stretching very far that severe law, which, perhaps, had never been executed before, especially against a duke, peer of the realm, and uncle to the king.

The duke behaved, during the whole time of his trial, with great temper and patience: when sentence was given, he thanked the lords for their favour, and asked pardon of the dukes of Northumberland, Northampton,

and Pembroke, for his ill intentions against them ; and made suit for his life, for his wife, and children. He was then carried back to the Tower. Whether this asking of the lords pardon amounted to a full confession of guilt, or was only a compliment to them, that they might not obstruct his pardon, is but a matter of conjecture. He confessed he had spoken of killing them, and this made it reasonable enough to ask their pardon, though it does not imply a confession of the crime.

The duke of Somerset was so beloved by the people, that, when those who were present at his trial saw he was returned not guilty of treason, they shouted for joy so loud, that they were heard at Charing-cross. All people thought, that, being acquitted of treason, and there being no felonious action done by him, but only an intention of one, and that only of imprisoning a peer, proved, that one so near in blood to the king would never be put to death upon such an occasion. But his execution was not deferred quite two months ; so great care had been taken to prepossess the king against him, that young Edward, who abhorred the crimes he believed him guilty of, was very far from any thoughts of granting him a pardon. The duke of Somerset was in hopes, however, of undeceiving the king. He had already engaged the lord-chancellor to be his friend, who, through a mistake in the superscription of a note he sent to the duke, discovered his design to use his endeavours for him.

him. This occasioned the great seals being taken from him, and given to the bishop of Ely.

As soon as the duke had received his sentence, great pains were taken to entertain the king with pleasing sights, that he might not reflect upon this strange condemnation. At the same time, all the duke's, his uncle's, friends, were carefully prevented from coming near him. An order was sent for beheading the duke of Somerset on the 22d of January, on which day he was brought to the place of execution on Tower-hill. His whole deportment was very composed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been. He first kneeled down, and prayed, and then he spake to the people in these words. "Dearly beloved friends, I am brought here to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king, neither by word or deed, and have always been as faithful and true to this realm, as any man hath been. But, for so much as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereto: wherefore, to testify my obedience, which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death, whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might, through sudden death, have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him, nor myself. Moreover, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in



mind of, as touching Christian religion, which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I of my doings, but rejoice therein, since that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church, which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God, both to you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this, which is purely set forth to you, you will, with like thankfulness, accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living; which thing, if you do not, without doubt, greater mischief and calamity will follow."

When he had gone so far, there was an extraordinary noise heard, as if some house had been blown up with gunpowder, which frightened all the people, so that many run away, they knew not for what; and the relator, who tarried still, says, it brought into his remembrance the astonishment the band was in that came to take our Saviour, who thereupon fell backwards to the ground.

At the same time, Sir Anthony Brown came riding towards the scaffold, and they all hoped he had brought a pardon; upon which there was a general shouting, "Pardon, pardon; God save the king;" many throwing up their caps; by which the duke might well perceive how dear he was to the people. But, as soon as these disorders were over, he made a sign to them with his hand to compose themselves,

themselves, and then went on in his speech thus :

“ Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand, as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer : and let us now join in prayer to the Lord, for the preservation of the king's majesty, unto whom, hitherto, I have always shewed myself a most faithful and firm subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad ; and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm ; ” (upon this the people cried out, it was most true) “ unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity, and all prosperous success. Moreover, I do wish unto all his counsellors, the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule, in all things uprightly with justice ; unto whom I exhort you all, in the Lord, to shew yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation ; and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty. Moreover, for as much as heretofore I have had affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man ; therefore, if there have been any that have been offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness ; but especially

cially Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended : and all other, whatsoever they be, that have offended me, I do, with my whole heart, forgive them."

Then he desired them to be quiet, lest their tumults might trouble him, and said, " Albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering ; and, through your quietness, I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same to my life's end."

Then Dr. Cox, who was with him on the scaffold, put a paper into his hand, which was a prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his knees, then he took leave of all about him, and undressed himself to be fitted for the axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only his face was a little ruddier than ordinary. He continued calling " Lord Jesus save me," till the executioner severed his head from his body.

The duke of Somerset, (says a good writer) was a person of great virtues, eminent for piety, humble, and affable in his greatness ; sincere and candid in all his transactions. He was a better captain, than a counsellor ; had been oft successful in his undertakings ; was always careful of the poor and the oppressed ; and, in a word, had as many virtues, and as few

## EDWARD SEYMOUR. 57

few faults, as most great men, especially when they were so unexpectedly advanced, have ever had.

The people were generally much affected with this execution, and many threw handkerchiefs into his blood, to preserve it in remembrance of him.

S. J.



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THE



THE LIFE OF  
SEBASTIAN CABOT.

**T**HIS gentleman was the son of an eminent Venetian pilot, Sir John Cabot. He was born at Bristol, about the year 1477; and therefore Mr. Strype is mistaken when he tells us he was an Italian; into which he was led by the name he met with in the M. S. from which he copied his remarks: viz. Sebastiano Cabato: an inaccuracy common enough with our old writers, who affected to vary foreign names strangely: a folly with which the French are still infected; insomuch that it is a difficult thing to understand English proper names, even in their latest and best historians.

Sebastian was educated by his father in the study of those parts of the mathematics which were then best understood, especially arithmetic, geometry, and cosmography; and, by that time he was seventeen years old, he had made several trips to sea, in order to add to his theoretical notions a competent skill in the practical part of navigation: and, in like manner, were bred the rest of his father's sons, who became also eminent men, and settled abroad; one in Genoa, the other at Venice.

The



*Sebast. Cabbot 1. English Sailor*



The first voyage of consequence in which Sebastian Cabot was engaged, seems to have been that made by his father for the discovery of the North-west Passage. This was in 1497, and certainly first taught our seamen a passage to North-America; but whether Sebastian Cabot did not, after the decease of his father, prosecute his design, and make a more perfect discovery of the coasts of the Newfoundland, is a great doubt with us, because we find such incongruous relations of this voyage, in different authors: for instance, the celebrated Peter Martyr, who was intimately acquainted with Sebastian, and wrote in a manner from his own mouth, says, That the voyage wherein he made his great discovery towards the north, was performed in two ships, fitted out at his own expence; which by no means agree with his father's expedition, wherein were employed one stout ship of the king's, and four belonging to the merchants of Bristol. Besides this, a very intelligent Spanish writer, who is very exact in his chronology, tells us, that, when Cabot sailed, at the expence of king Henry VII. in order to make discoveries towards the north, he passed beyond Cape la Brader, somewhat more than 48° N. L. then turning towards the west, he sailed along the coast to 38; which agrees very well with the accounts of John Cabot's voyage. But Ramusio, the Italian collector, who had the letter of Sebastian Cabot before him when he wrote, speaks of a voyage:



a voyage, wherein he sailed north-and-by-west to 67; and would have proceeded farther if he had not been hindered by a mutiny among his sailors.

It is probable, therefore, that Sebastian made more than either one or two voyages into those parts, by virtue of the commission of king Henry VII. and, if so, he well deserved the character Sir William Monson has given of him, and of his important discoveries; which the reader will be pleased to see in his own words, the authority of the writer, from his perfect knowledge of the subject, being of as much weight as the facts he mentions.

“ To come to the particulars,” says he,  
“ of augmentation of our trade, of our plan-  
“ tations, and our discoveries, because every  
“ man shall have his due therein, I will be-  
“ gin with Newfoundland, lying upon the  
“ main continent of America, which the king  
“ of Spain challenges as first discoverer: but,  
“ as we acknowledge the king of Spain the  
“ first light of the west and south-west parts of  
“ America, so we, and all the world, must  
“ confess, that we were the first that took  
“ possession for the crown of England of the  
“ north part thereof; and not above two years  
“ difference between them and the other:  
“ and, as the Spaniards have, from that day  
“ and year, held their possession in the west,  
“ so have we done the like in the north;  
“ and, though there is no respect in compari-  
“ son of the wealth, betwixt the countries,  
“ yet

“ yet England may boast that the discovery,  
 “ from the year aforesaid, to this very day,  
 “ hath offered the subjects annually one hun-  
 “ dred and twenty thousand pounds; and en-  
 “ creased the number of many a good ship and  
 “ mariners, as our western ports can witness,  
 “ by their fishing in Newfoundland. Neither  
 “ can Spain challenge a more natural right  
 “ than we to its discovery; for in that case we  
 “ are both alike.

“ If we deal truly with others, and not de-  
 “ prive them of their right, it is Italy that  
 “ must assume the discovery to itself, as well  
 “ in the one part of America, as in the other  
 “ Genoa; and Christopher Columbus, by  
 “ name, must carry away the praise of it from  
 “ Spain; for Spain had not that voyage in  
 “ agitation, or the thought of it, till Colum-  
 “ bus not only proposed but accomplished  
 “ it.”

“ The like may be said of Sebastian Cabot,  
 “ a Venetian, who, by his earnest intercession  
 “ to Henry VII. drew him to the discovery of  
 “ Newfoundland, and called it by the name  
 “ of Bacallao, an Indian name for fish, for  
 “ the abundance of fish he found upon the  
 “ coast.”

If this worthy man had performed nothing  
 more, his name ought surely to be transmitted  
 to future times with honour; since it clearly  
 appears, that Newfoundland hath been a source  
 of riches and naval power to this nation, from  
 the time it was discovered, as well as the first  
 of

of our plantations : so that, with strict justice, it may be said of Sebastian Cabot, that he was the author of our maritime strength, and opened the way to those improvements which have rendered us since so great, so flourishing, a people. Yet we have no distinct accounts of what he advised, or what he performed; for upwards of twenty years together; wherein, certainly, so able a man could never have been idle.

The next news we hear of him, is in the eighth of king Henry VIII. and our accounts then are none of the clearest. It seems that Cabot had entered into a strict correspondence with Sir Thomas Pert, at this time vice-admiral of England, who had a house at Poplar, and procured him a good ship of the king's, in order to make discoveries : but it looks as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have passed by the South to the East-Indies; for he sailed first to Brazil, and, missing there of his purpose, shaped his course for the islands of Hispaniola and Porto Rico, where he carried on some traffic ; and then returned, failing absolutely in the design upon which he went; not through any want either of courage or conduct in himself, but from the fear and faint-heartedness of Sir Thomas Pert, his coadjutor ; of which we have abundant testimony from the writings of a person who lived in those times.

This disappointment, in all probability, inclined Sebastian Cabot to leave England, and  
to

to go over to Spain; where he was treated with very great respect, and raised as high as his profession would permit; being declared pilot-major, or chief-pilot, of Spain; and by his office intrusted with the reviewing all projects for discovery; which, in those days, were many and important.

His great capacity, and approved integrity, induced many rich merchants to treat with him, in the year 1524, about a voyage to be undertaken, at their expence, by the new-found passage of Magellan, to the Moluccos; which, at length, he accepted; and of which we have a clear account in the writings of the Spanish historian Herrera.

He sailed, says he, about the beginning of April, 1525, first to the Canaries, then to the islands of Cape Verde, thence to Cape Augustin and the island of Patos, or Geese; and near Bahia de Todos Los Santos, or the Bay of All Saints, he met a French ship. He was said to have managed but indiscreetly, as wanting provisions when he came to the island; but there the Indians were very kind, and supplied him with provisions for all his ships; but he requited them very indifferently, carrying away with him, by force, four sons of the principal men.

Thence he proceeded to the River of Plate, having left ashore, on a desert island, Martin Mendez, his vice-admiral, captain Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, because they censured his management; and, in conclusion,



sion, he went not to the Spice-islands ; as well because he had not provisions, as by reason the men would not sail under him, fearing his conduct of the vessel in the Straits.

He sailed up the river of Plate, and, above thirty leagues above the mouth, found an island which he called St. Gabriel, about a league in compass, and half a league from the continent towards Brazil. There he anchored, and rowing with the boats three leagues higher, discovered a river he called San Salvador, or St. Saviour ; very deep, and a safe harbour for the ships on the same side ; whither he brought up his vessels and unloaded them, because at the mouth of the river there was not much water.

Having built a fort, and left some men in it, he resolved to proceed up that river with boats and a flat-bottom caravel, in order to make discoveries, thinking that, although he did not pass through the Straits to the Spice-islands, his voyage would not be altogether fruitless.

Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river called Zacarana ; and finding the natives thereabouts a good rational people, he erected another fort, calling it Santi Spiritus ; i. e. of the Holy Ghost ; and his followers by another name ; viz. Cabot's Fort. He thence discovered the shore of the river Parana, which is that called Plate, where he found many islands and rivers ; and keeping along the greatest

greatest stream, at the end of two hundred leagues came up to another river, which the Indians call Paraguay, and left the great river on the right, thinking it bent towards the coast of Brazil; and, running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground: a thing which, in those parts, he had not seen before. There he met with so much opposition, that he advanced no farther, but killed many Indians, and they slew twenty-five of his Spaniards, and took three, that were gone to gather palmetos to eat.

At the same time Cabot was thus employed, James Garcia, with the same view of making discoveries, had entered the river of Plate without knowing that the other was there before him. He entered the said river about the beginning of the year 1527, having sent away his own, which was a large ship, alledging that it was of too great a burthen for that discovery; and, with the rest, came to an anchor in the same place where Cabot's ship lay, directing his course, with two brigantines and sixty men, towards the river Parana, which lies north and north-west, arrived at the fort built by Cabot. About one hundred and ten leagues above this fort, he found Sebastian Cabot himself in the port of St. Anne; so named by the latter; and, after a short stay there, they returned together to the fort of the Holy Ghost; and thence sent messengers into Spain.

Those

Those who were dispatched by Sebastian Cabot were, Francis Calderon and George Barlow, who gave a very fair account of the fine countries bordering on the river La Plata, shewing how large a tract of land he had not only discovered, but subdued, and producing gold, silver, and other rich commodities, as evidences in favour of their general conduct. The demands they made were, that a supply should be sent of provision, amunition, goods proper to carry on a trade, and a competent recruit of seamen and soldiers. To this the merchants, by whom Cabot's squadron was fitted out, would not agree, but chose to let their rights escheat to the crown of Castile. The king then took the whole upon himself, but was so dilatory in his preparations, that Sebastian Cabot, quite tired out, as having been five years in America, resolved to return home, which he did, embarking the remainder of his men, and all his effects, on board the largest of his ships, and leaving the rest behind him.

It was the spring of the year 1531, when Cabot arrived at the Spanish court, and gave an account of his expedition. It is evident enough, from the manner in which the Spanish writers speak of him, that he was not well received; and one may easily account for it. He had raised himself enemies by treating his Spanish mutineers with so much severity; and, on the other hand, his owners were disappointed by his not pursuing his voyage.

voyage to the Moluccos. He kept his place, however, and remained in the service of Spain many years after, and, at length, he was invited over to England. We have no account how this was brought about in any author now extant, and therefore we shall offer to the reader's consideration a conjecture of our own, which he may receive or reject, according as it seems to him probable or improbable. Mr. Robert Thorne, an English merchant at Seville, was intimately acquainted with Cabot, and was actually one of his owners in his last expedition. It seems, therefore, not at all unlikely, that he, after his return from Newfoundland, might importune Cabot to think of coming home; and what seems to add a greater appearance of truth to this conjecture, is Cabot's settling at Bristol, when he did return to England, of which city Mr. Thorne was an eminent merchant, and once mayor. These transactions fell out in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. about which time, as we suppose, Sebastian Cabot actually returned, and settled with his family here.

In the very beginning of king Edward's reign, this eminent seaman was introduced to the duke of Somerset, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom he was made known to the king, who took a great deal of pleasure in his conversation, being much better versed in the studies to which Cabot



Cabot had applied himself, than, his tender years considered, could have been expected ; for he knew not only all the ports and havens in this island, and in Ireland, but also those in France, their shape, method of entering commodities and incommoities, and, in short, could answer almost any question about them that a sailor could ask. We need not wonder, therefore, that with such a prince Cabot was in high esteem, or that, in his favour, a new office should be erected, equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in Spain, together with a pension of 166 l. 13 s. 4 d. which we find granted to him by letters patent, dated January 6, 1549, in the second year of that king's reign, by a special clause in which patent, this annuity is made to commence from the Michaelmas preceding. Thence forward he continued highly in the king's favour, and was consulted upon all matters relating to trade, particularly in the great case of the merchants of the Steel-yard in 1551, of which it will be fit to give some account here, since it has escaped the notice of most of our historians, tho' it gave, in some measure, a new turn to the whole state of our commerce.

These merchants are sometimes called of the Haunse, because they came from the Haunse towns, or free cities of Germany ; sometimes Almain, from their country. They settled here in or before the reign of Henry III. and brought in grain, cordage, flax, hemp, linnen cloth, wax, and steel, whence the place in  
Dowgate-

Dowgate-ward, where they dwelt, was called the Steel-yard, which name it still retains. The kings of England encouraged them at first, and granted them large privileges; amongst others, that of exporting our woollen cloths. They had likewise an alderman, who was their chief magistrate; and, in consideration of various grants from the city, they stood bound to repair bishopsgate, and were likewise under other obligations. By degrees, however, the English coming to trade themselves, and importing many of the commodities in which these Germans dealt, great controversies grew between them; the foreigners, on all occasions, pleading their charter, which the English merchants treated as a monopoly not well warranted by law. At last, the company of merchant adventurers, at the head of which was our Sebastian Cabot, on the 29th of December, 1551, exhibited to the council an information against these merchants of the Steel-yard, to which they were directed to put in their answer; they did so, and, after several hearings, and a reference to the king's solicitor-general, his council learned in the law, and the recorder of London, a decree passed, on the 24th of February, whereby these merchants of the Steel-yard were declared to be no legal corporation; yet, licenses were afterwards granted them, from time to time, for the exportation and importation of goods, notwithstanding

withstanding this decree, which remained still in full force and virtue.

In the month of May, 1552, the king granted a license, together with letters of safe conduct, to such persons as should embark on board three ships, to be employed for the discovery by the north to the East Indies. Sebastian Cabot was at that time governor of the company of merchant adventurers, on whose advice this enterprize was undertaken, and by whose interest this countenance from the court was procured. The accounts we have of this matter differ widely ; but, as we observe there is a variation in the dates of a whole year, so we are apt to believe, that there must have been two distinct undertakings, the one under the immediate protection of the court, which did not take effect ; and the other, by a joint stock of the merchants, which did. The first, because it is little taken notice of, we will particularly relate here.

When this matter was first proposed, the king lent two ships, the *Primrose* and the *Moon*, to Barnes, lord-mayor of London, Mr. Garret, one of the sheriffs, and Mr. York and Mr. Wyndham, two of the adventurers, giving bond to the king, to deliver two ships of like burden, and in as good condition, at Midsummer, 1554. In consideration also of the expence and trouble of Sebastian Cabot, his majesty made him a present of two hundred pounds. A year afterwards

wards, this grand undertaking was brought to bear, and thereupon Sebastian Cabot delivered to the commander in chief those directions by which he was to regulate his conduct, the title of which ran thus : “ Ordinances, instructions, and advertisements, of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered, by the right worshipful Sebastian Cabot, Esq. governor of the mystery and company of the merchant adventurers, for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown, the ninth of May, in the year of our Lord God 1553.” This shews how great a trust was reposed in this gentleman by the government, and by the merchants of England ; and the instructions themselves, which we still have entire, are the clearest proofs of his sagacity and penetration, and the fullest justification of such as did repose their trust in him. Many have surmised, that he was a knight, whence we often find him stiled Sir Sebastian ; but the very title of those instructions we have cited, proves the contrary ; as also the charter granted by king Philip and queen Mary, in the first year of their reign, to the merchants of Russia, since stiled the Russia company, whereby Sebastian Cabot is made governor for life, on account of his being principally concerned in fitting out the first ships employed in that trade ; but so far from being stiled knight, that he is called only one Sebastian Cabot, without any distinction at all.

After



After this, we find him very active in the affairs of the company in the year 1556; and in the journal of Mr. Stephen Burroughs it is observed, that on the 27th of April that year, he went down to Gravesend, and there went aboard the Search-thrift, a small vessel, fitted out under the command of the said Burroughs, for Russia, where he gave generously to the sailors, and, on his return to Gravesend, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, desiring them to pray for the success of this voyage. We find it also remarked, (which shews the chearful temper of the man) that, upon his coming back to Gravesend, he caused a grand entertainment to be made at the sign of the Christopher, where, says Mr. Burroughs, for the very joy he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself. This is the last circumstance relating to Cabot that we can any where find; and as it is certain, that a person of his temper could not have been idle, or his actions remain in obscurity, so we look upon it as certain, that he died some time in this or the next year, when he was upwards of seventy. He was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived, and one who, by his capacity and industry, contributed not a little to the service of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom. For he was the first who took notice of the variation of the compass, which is of such vast consequence in navigation, and concerning

cerning which the learned have busied themselves in their enquiries ever since. An Italian writer, famous for making the most judicious collection of voyages which hath hitherto appeared, celebrates Sebastian Cabot as his countryman; yet, as he was ours both by nature and affection, and as we owe so much to his skill and labours, we thought it but just to give his memoirs a place here, amongst those of the most eminent Britons, the rather because he has been hitherto strangely neglected by our biographers, as well as by our general historians: and we hope our readers will accept, in good part, of a life in itself but barren of incidents, as it must be a satisfaction to all lovers of their country, to know the little which remains upon record of one of the first discoverers of North America; a territory, at present, held to be of so much consequence to the British nation, and in the preserving of which it has lately expended such quantities of blood and treasure.



## THE LIFE OF

## JOHN DUDLEY.

**J**OHN DUDLEY, whose life we are now about writing, was son to Edmund Dudley, Esq. one of the chief instruments of the oppressions of Henry VII. and is, by many of our historians, reputed the most powerful subject that ever flourished in this kingdom. He was born in the year 1502, and was about eight years of age when his father was put to death: but it was the general opinion, that the severity exercised upon that occasion was rather to satisfy the people than justice; wherefore, John Dudley, by Edmund Guilford, esquire of the body to the king, his guardian, petitioned the parliament, that the attainder of Edmund Dudley might be reversed, and himself restored in blood; which was granted without difficulty, and a special act passed for that purpose in 1511. Particular care was taken of his education, by a mother, equally distinguished for her virtues and high birth, and by a guardian, who had the reputation of being one of the most accomplished gentlemen in a court then celebrated as the politest in Europe.

When his mother, by the king's consent, married Arthur Plantagenet, who, in her right, was created viscount L'Isle, which was about  
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*J. Webb delin*  
*Dudley D. of Northumberland*  
*J. Rogers sculp*





the year 1523, John Dudley was brought to court, and, being a young gentleman of a fine person and extraordinary endowments, he attended the king's favourite, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, in his expedition to France, where his gallant behaviour not only entitled him to the particular notice of his noble general, but procured him likewise the honour of knighthood. It is natural to imagine, that upon his return he was very well received at court, having many relations, who had great influence there; but, it seems, he relied chiefly on his own abilities, and very wisely attached himself to the king's first minister, cardinal Wolsey, whom he accompanied in his expedition to France, in the nineteenth year of that reign; and availing himself of the advantages which this afforded, entered, not long after, into the king's service, as appears from a patent granted him for the office of the master of the armoury in the Tower, with the allowance of a groom. His hopes of preferment at court, however, did not hinder him from attending to his concerns in the country, where he was very assiduous in improving his interest with the gentry, and, in 1536, was nominated sheriff of Staffordshire. He lived hospitably, and had the good will of his neighbours in a much higher degree, than when he was exalted to a far superior station. Two years after this, he entered himself into the society of Gray's-Inn, but it does not seem in the least probable, that he ever studied the

law there, as his father had done, tho' some authority might be alledged in support of it. The court was still his place of residence, and Wolfey afforded him his patronage as long as he was in power. He was likewise in high favour with Thomas lord Cromwel, who succeeded the cardinal in the ministry, so that upon the arrival of Anne of Cleves, whom that minister had engaged the king to marry, when Cromwell was advanced to the dignity of earl of Essex and great chamberlain of England, he was made master of the horse to the intended queen. We are told, indeed, that this great man, who did not rise over-hastily at the beginning, took a great deal of pains to qualify himself for the king's service; in order to which he made a tour to Italy, and remained some time at Rome, as, with the like design, he visited France; by which means he became a very complete courtier, and capable of employment of very different kinds. But he never made a greater figure, than on the first of May, 1539, when he was the first of challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Westminster, in which he appeared with great magnificence. This tournament had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers to try their prowess against the English challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir John Carew, knights; Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell, esquires. These challengers came  
into

into the lists richly dressed, preceded by a band of knights and gentlemen, cloathed in white velvet. The first day there were forty-six defendants, amongst whom were the earl of Surry, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, son to the prime minister, who was, a little before, creat'd earl of Essex. Sir John Dudley, by some mischance of his horse, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr. Breme; however, he mounted again, and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in state to Durham-house, where they entertained the king, queen, and court. On the second day of May, Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell were made knights. On the third, the challengers fought on horseback with swords, against twenty-nine defendants. Sir John Dudley and the earl of Surry running first with equal advantage. On the fifth of May they fought on foot at the barriers against thirty defendants. In the course of these military diversions, the challengers, at a vast expence, entertained both houses of parliament, the lord-mayor, aldermen and their wives, and all the persons of distinction then in town; as a reward for which, the king gave to each of them a house and an hundred marks a year forever, out of the revenues of the knights of Rhodes, which had been given to his majesty by the parliament then sitting.

The fall of the earl of Essex, which hap-  
pened soon after, did not in the least affect the



favour or fortune of Sir John Dudley. This very clearly appeared soon after the death of his father-in-law, when the king, by letters patent, bearing date the twelfth of March, 1542, raised him to the dignity of viscount L' Isle, with very singular marks of his esteem and consideration. At the next festival of St. George, he was also elected knight of the garter; but this was soon after followed by a much higher instance, both of kindness and trust; indeed, such an instance as had scarce any example in former times, and has not been considered as a precedent fit to follow in those that have succeeded; for the king, considering his prudence, his courage, and his activity, as well as the occasion he had, and was like to have, for a man of such consequence in that office, constituted him lord high admiral of England for life.

The next year he commanded a fleet of two hundred sail, with which he proceeded to the Scotch coasts, where he performed all the service that was expected from him, and having landed his forces, marched through the southern provinces of Scotland by land, and most effectually restored the tranquility of the marches. He next embarked for France, and on the 28th of July, 1543, appeared before Boulogne, then besieged by king Henry VIII. in person, and, by his great diligence and courage, facilitated very much the taking of the place, of which the king left him the charge, with the title of his lieutenant. In  
this

this important employment he did more than his master had reason to expect, and as much as the nation or himself could desire : He was present in most of the attacks, and had there the misfortune to lose his eldest son. The place was surrendered on the fourteenth of September, and, on the eighteenth, the king made his public entry into it, and soon after delivered the keys of the place to the lord admiral, with the title of governor ; and, upon his embarking for England, on the thirtieth of the same month, declared him his lieutenant-general.

On the 27th of March, 1546, the king declared him, by a patent, lieutenant-general and commander in chief of all his forces at sea, for the more effectual carrying on of the war against France ; and this at a time when the French, by the help of money, and alliances with the maritime powers of Europe, had drawn together a very great naval force, and threatened to make the English feel the weight of it, not only at sea, but by covering an invasion which they had long meditated ; all which vast designs were frustrated by the courage and conduct of the lord viscount L'Hle, with a force much inferior to theirs. The same year, he was, together with Cathbert Tonsall, bishop of Durham, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, appointed a commissioner to take the oath of Francis, the French king, for observing the treaty of peace, signed June the seventh, which.

he performed with great solemnity. On the sixteenth of October following he was, together with many other persons of rank, named in a commission for settling the accompts of the army. This was one of the last services he performed in the reign of that great prince, to whom he owed all his honours and fortune, receiving from him, towards the close of his reign, very large grants of church lands, which delivered him from the inconveniencies that must otherwise have ensued from his unbounded generosity; which grants, however, created him many enemies.

The king's health daily declining, his majesty named Sir John Dudley, lord viscount L'Isle, one of his sixteen executors, and gave him also a legacy of five hundred pounds, which was the highest that he bestowed on any of them; and in the succeeding reign, the earl of Hertford being declared protector, and, amongst the first of his projects, endeavouring to get his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, made high admiral, in his favour the lord viscount L'Isle resigned, not willingly to be sure, but upon the best terms he could make. Accordingly, on the 17th of February, 1547, the very same day that the new lord admiral's patent passed, he was created earl of Warwick, and made great chamberlain of England; neither was it long before he had great grants from the crown, particularly Warwick-castle and manor.

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This has occasioned several writers to represent the promotions made, and titles conferred about this time, as proceeding from his intrigues; whereas, in truth, he had a title by descent to the earldom of Warwick: king Henry VIII. intended to have created him earl of Coventry, and the new king's coronation made it natural to do something extraordinary to grace it. Going with the protector into Scotland, in quality of his lieutenant-general, in that expedition he added greatly to the reputation which he had already acquired, as even his enemies themselves confess, being the chief author of the victory which was then obtained, and would also have pushed the war to a glorious conclusion, if he had been entrusted with the sole command; as it was, his conduct was universally commended, and all the blame fell elsewhere.

At that time the protector had so good an opinion of the earl of Warwick, that he left him behind in the north to treat with the Scots, which proved indeed a thing of no consequence, as the Scots never intended to treat, but made that proposal to the duke of Somerset, only to gain time, as the duke accepted it, because it afforded him a fair pretence for returning to England.

He was next employed by the duke of Somerset, lord protector, in conjunction with many other honourable persons, to compromise matters with the French, who, after the death of king Henry, were very desirous of



getting Boulogn into their hands, which it was of great consequence to the protector to prevent, and yet to avoid, if possible, engaging in a war; both which ends were effected for the present; to which the industry and authority of the earl of Warwick did not a little contribute.

It was this activity of his in business, which was generally attended with success, that chiefly recommended him to the protector Somerset, who certainly had much slowness and timidity in his nature; which made him admire men of quick parts and solid abilities, whose advice he used from time to time, but more especially listened to the councils of Warwick, who, when the rebels were in Norfolk, was dispatched thither with an army of six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, which was to have been employed against the Scots.

He preserved Norwich with some difficulty, and afterwards fought the rebels, who, both in drawing up their men, and in the course of the action, behaved much better than could have been expected from such raw soldiers. The earl, however, defeated them, and killed about a thousand men; other writers say many more.

This greatly discouraged, but did not dissipate them; on the contrary, they collected all their scattered parties, and offered him battle a second time. The earl marched directly towards them; but, when he was on the very point of engaging, he sent them a message,

“ That

“ That he was very sorry to see so much courage expressed in so bad a cause; but, notwithstanding what was passed, they might depend on the king’s pardon, upon delivering up their leaders.” To which they answered, “ That he was a nobleman of so much worth and generosity, that, if they might have this assurance from his own mouth, they were willing to submit.” The earl accordingly went amongst them; upon which they threw down their arms, delivered up Robert Ket and his brother William, with the rest of their chiefs, who were hanged: upon hearing which the Yorkshire rebels dispersed; and, on the removal of the duke of Somerset from his office, the earl of Warwick was again made lord-high-admiral, by the king’s letters patent, with very extensive powers.

If we consider the removal of the lord-protector Somerset from the government, as it is stated by Stowe, and other plain writers, it will appear, that the far greatest part of the king’s council concurred in that measure, and offered very plausible reasons for so doing. Sir John Hayward is very clear, that the whole was a contrivance of the earl of Warwick’s; that the rest were but his tools; and, that the articles objected against the protector were invented to make him odious.

It is very true, that, when the council met to take this bold step of pulling down the king’s uncle, it was at Ely-house, where the earl of Warwick then resided; yet it no where

appears that he was at the head of this business ; nor indeed could he be, when the lord-chancellor Rich, and the lord St. John, who was president of the council, were at all the consultations. When the lords went to the king, to justify their complaints, the earl of Warwick went not with them ; which Sir John Hayward says was a piece of craft. It might be so, and it might also be the effects of tenderness and modesty. He was appointed by the council one of the lords to attend upon the king's person ; which was a great honour ; but then he shared it with five others.

Sir John Hayward speaks much of his secret conferences with the earls of Arundel and Southampton ; and affirms, that, not being able to work these great peers to serve his purposes, he got them both excluded from the council. Bishop Burnet is quite of another opinion : he suggests, that the papists were in hopes of making some very great advantage by this notable change in the government, because they were sure of the other two earls, and had a favourable opinion of Warwick. But it seems that he was a very great politician : he saw that the king was a firm protestant, and perhaps he made it a rule with him to be of the religion of the crown ; so that it is very likely his conferences with Arundel and Southampton might be upon this subject, Whether it was best to stop the reformation of religion, or to promote it ? And there is nothing more certain, than, that in this they differed ;

differed ; that the two earls were for the old popish road, but the earl of Warwick was for marching in the king's high-way ; and therefore it is no wonder that he procured their exclusion from councils, in which he was determined to lead, and knew very well that they were not inclined to follow.

He stood, at this time, so high in the king's favour, and had settled so firm a friendship with the rest of the lords of the council, that nothing was done but by his advice or consent ; to which, therefore, we must attribute the release of the duke of Somerset out of the Tower, and restoring him to some share of power and favour at court. The king was much pleased with this ; and, being desirous that the friendship of these two great men should not be barely in appearance, a marriage was proposed between the eldest son of the earl of Warwick and the lady Anne Seymour, daughter to the duke of Somerset ; which, at length, was brought to bear ; and, on the 3d of June, 1550, was solemnized in the king's presence, who expressed great satisfaction thereat.

The king's favour to him still continued, or rather increased ; so that, upon surrendering the office of lord-high-chamberlain of England, which was bestowed upon the marquis of Northampton, the king was pleased to make him lord-steward of his household by letters patents, highly expressive of his majesty's affection and esteem.

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At this time he was looked upon as so warm a protestant, that the most zealous divines had recourse to his favour and protection. Amongst the rest, the famous Dr. Hooper, about that time appointed bishop of Gloucester, who scrupled much the wearing the episcopal habit; and for whom the earl, out of respect to the tenderness of his conscience, actually interposed; but afterwards, when the earl became better acquainted with the state of the question, and was made sensible of the consequences that might follow from indulging such a singularity in sentiments, he withdrew his protection, and Dr. Hooper was forced to submit. On the other hand, though it is certain that Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, wrote him a letter of compliment after the fall of the protector; yet he never shewed him any countenance, nor did he give him the least opposition to his being deprived of the rich bishopric of Winchester, when he knew that archbishop Cranmer considered it as a thing necessary to the peace of the church. The reader is left to judge from these facts, whether he was a man wholly indifferent about religion, or a deep dissembler, willing to do any thing that might either gain or preserve power.

In the month of January, 1551, he was constituted earl-marshal of England; but, whereas a certain historian says, that he was joined in an embassy with William, marquis of Northampton, to the French king, about the

the same time, it is clearly a mistake; since it appears, from unexceptionable authority, that it was his son, the lord viscount L'Isle.

On the 15th of August, in the same year, sir Robert Dudley, one of the earl's younger sons, was sworn one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the chamber. A short time afterwards, the earl of Warwick was made lord-warden of the northern marches: and, on the 11th of October, in the same year, he was advanced to the dignity of duke of Northumberland; at the same time that the marquis of Dorset was created duke of Suffolk.

It is the observation of the very learned and judicious Mr. Camden, "That the duke of Somerset lost his life for a very small crime, and that upon a nice point, subtilly devised and managed by his enemies." Now, if Dr. Fuller may be admitted to explain this short text, he will bring it home to the noble person whose history we are writing. Speaking of Somerset's accusation, he says, "Here I must set John Dudley, earl of Warwick, as a transcendant, in a form by himself, being famous as a competent lawyer, son to judge, a known soldier, and able statesman, and acting against the protector in all these his capacities. Indeed, he was the very soul of the accusation, being all in all, and all in every part thereof."

This was generally remembered when his fall came, and loudly charged upon him by the  
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the people: and yet it may be urged, if not in justification, at least in excuse, that he was not bound to regard his own life less than Somerset did his, who, for his security, procured that act of parliament on which he died: nor could it be well expected, that he should have more pity or commiseration for his rival in those unhappy circumstances, than Somerset, when protector, had for his brother. About this time, or rather a little before, he was elected chancellor of Cambridge, in the room of that unfortunate peer of whom we have before spoken; but, at that time, he became high-steward, which Dr. Heylen assures us he was; and that these two offices have never been in one person before or since, is very certain.

This great politician had now raised himself as high as it was possible, in point of dignity and of power. The ascendancy he had gained over the young king was so great, that he directed him entirely at his pleasure; and he had, with such dexterity, wrought most of the great nobility into his interests, and had so humbled and depressed all who shewed any dislike to him, that he seemed to have all things to hope, and little to fear. We ought, therefore, to attribute to this situation, and that vain pride which naturally triumphs in the breasts of ambitious men, his mean and barbarous usage of the head of his family, and his near relation, John, baron of Dudley, whose

whose estate being entangled by usurers, he, by purchasing assignments of mortgages, drew, by degrees, intirely into his own hands, so as at last to compass what he for many years desired, the possession of the antient castle of Dudley; which he not only thoroughly repaired, but added also a noble structure, worthy of his wealth and greatness, which was called the new building; adorning all parts of the castle with the arms of the noble families from which, by his mother's side, he was descended; that, in succeeding times, it might not be taken for an acquisition, but the patrimony of his family.

This was certainly going far enough, or rather much too far; yet he ventured still farther; and, having despoiled his poor cousin of his castle and estates, thrust the titles of Dudley and Somerie amongst his other baronies, leaving his unhappy kinsman a new and strange title in their stead; for living, as well as he could, amongst the great families in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, who pitied his misfortunes, he went there currently by the name of lord Quondam, till, by a sudden revolution, he became master of Dudley castle again; and his son obtained, out of the forfeiture of this potent duke, an ample fortune, free from all incumbrances, with a clear title.

Many writers there are who insinuate, that, from the time the duke of Northumberland and his family came to have the person of the king, as well as the direction of the government, in  
their



their hands, the health of that young prince began to decline ; but these, perhaps, are no other than calumnies. It does not indeed appear, that the duke of Northumberland had any cause to suspect the loss of his power while that king lived, nor did he seem to fear it ; but, when he discerned his majesty's health to decline apace, it was very natural for him to consider how he might render himself and his family safe : and, from the hurry with which the marriage was concluded between the lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and his fourth son, lord Guilford Dudley ; which was celebrated in the month of May, 1553 ; that is, not above two months before the king died ; we may suppose that he had, for some time, been contriving in his mind that plan for the disposal of the kingdom, which he carried afterwards into execution.

In the parliament held a little before the king's death, the duke of Northumberland procured a considerable supply to be granted ; and, in the preamble of that act, a direct censure of the duke of Somerset's administration : and, having wisely answered his purposes by this single measure, dissolved that parliament immediately. He then applied himself to the king, and shewed him the necessity of setting her aside, from the danger the protestant religion would be in, if the lady Mary should succeed him ; in which, from the piety of that young prince, he met with no great

great difficulty. Bishop Burnet says, he did not well understand how the king was prevailed upon to pass by his sister Elizabeth, who had been always much in his favour; perhaps he might be told, that it was impossible to assign any reasons for disinheriting one sister, that might not also be applied for the other; so that there was a necessity of depriving both, or neither. Yet, when this was done, there was another difficulty in the way.

The duchess of Suffolk was the next heir, and she might have sons; and, therefore, to bar these in favour of lady Jane Dudley seemed to be unnatural, as well as illegal: the duchess herself contributed, as far as in her lay, to remove this obstacle, by devolving her right upon her daughter, even if she had male issue; which satisfied the king, who was but in the sixteenth year of his age, and might not therefore perceive the fallacy of resigning not only her own claim, but that of those who might descend from her; which she could not possibly have power to do.

The king's consent being obtained, the next point was, to procure a proper instrument to be drawn by the judges; in doing which, the duke of Northumberland made use of threats as well as promises; and, when done at last, it was in such a manner, as plainly shewed it to be illegal in their own opinions.

At this time, indeed, the duke, either from the hurry of his passions, the fear he had of what might happen from delays, or the haughtiness.

tiness arising from a series of good fortune, which had so long continued, began to lose much of his former gentleness and affability, as he shewed himself amazingly rapacious in the grants which he obtained from a king, whose age, exclusive of his sickness, made it indecent at least, if not illegal, to accept such mighty bounties; the worth of which he could never be presumed to know, from his giving them thus lavishly away. The duke was no less careful in drawing to himself as much power, and diffusing his interest as wide as possible; so that, whatever happened, he might not want a retreat, or find his schemes in danger of being broken, through an opposition by the discontented nobility: in which schemes, notwithstanding their difficulty, he succeeded to his wish, his estate being enlarged, and his offices multiplied; beyond any thing that had, in former times, been bestowed upon any subject.

The letters patents for disposing of the crown were signed by king Edward on the 21st of June, and, on the 6th of July, that monarch expired, expressing, to the last, great satisfaction in the provision he had made for securing the protestant religion, and the happiness of his people. It is said, the duke of Northumberland was very desirous of concealing the king's death for some time; but this being found impossible, he carried his daughter-in-law, the lady Jane, to the Tower for greater security; and, on the 10th of July, proclaimed

proclaimed her queen. The council also wrote to lady Mary, requiring her submission; but they were very soon informed that she was retired into Norfolk, where many of the nobility, and multitudes of people, resorted to her. It was then resolved to send forces against her under the command of the duke of Suffolk; but queen Jane, as she was then stiled, would by no means part with her father; and the council earnestly pressed the duke of Northumberland to go in person; to which he was little inclined, as doubting their fidelity. He signified as much in the speech he made at taking his leave, and was answered with the strongest assurances that men could give. The earl of Arundel, particularly, told him, He was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood even at his feet.

On the 14th of July, the duke, accompanied by the marquis of Northampton, the lord Grey, and others, marched through Bishopsgate with two thousand horse, and six thousand foot; but, as they rode through Shoreditch, he could not forbear saying to the lord Grey, "The people press to see us, but none say, God speed us." His activity and courage, for which he had been so famous, seemed, from this time, to have deserted him; for, though he advanced to St. Edmund's-bury, in Suffolk, yet, finding his troops diminish, the people little affected to him, and  
no



no supplies coming from London, though he had wrote to the lords in the most pressing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge.

In the mean time, the council thought of nothing but to get out of the Tower, and at last effected it, under pretence of going to the earl of Pembroke's house at Baynard's castle, to give audience to the foreign ambassadors. This was on the 19th of the same month; and the first thing they did when they came there, was, to send for the lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, whom they accompanied to Cheapside, and there garter-king-at-arms proclaimed queen Mary. The earl of Arundel, and lord Paget, went the same night to pay their duty to her.

The duke of Northumberland had advice of this on the 20th, and, about five in the afternoon, the same day, caused her to be proclaimed at Cambridge, throwing up his cap, and crying, "God save queen Mary!" with how much joy and sincerity may be imagined. About an hour afterwards came letters from the council to the duke of Northumberland, by one of the heralds, requiring him to disband his forces; upon receiving which, the duke gave leave to every man to depart; and soon after he was arrested in King's-college by Slegge, serjeant at arms: but other letters coming from the council, that all men should go each his way, the duke said to those that kept him, "Ye do me wrong to withdraw my liberty;

liberty; see you not the council's letters, without exception, that all men should go whither they would?" Whereupon they who guarded him, and the other noblemen, set them at liberty; and so they continued that night: and the earl of Warwick, the duke of Northumberland's son, was ready in the morning to have rode away: at which time the earl of Arundel came from the queen unto the duke into his chamber; who, when he saw him, said, "For the love of God, consider I have done nothing but by the consent of you, and all the whole council." "My lord," replied the earl of Arundel, "I am sent hither by the queen's majesty; and, in her name, I arrest you." "I obey it," said the duke. "I beseech you, my lord of Arundel, use mercy towards me, knowing the case as it is." "My lord," answered the earl, "you should have sought for mercy sooner; I must do according to my commandment:" and thereupon committed the charge of him, and of others, to the guard and gentlemen that stood by.

The twenty-fifth of July, the duke, with the rest, were brought to the Tower of London, under the conduct of Henry, earl of Arundel, with a body of light-horsemen. On Friday, the eighteenth of August, he was arraigned, a great scaffold being set up in Westminster-hall, with John, earl of Warwick, his son and heir; and William Parr, marquis of Northampton; before Thomas, duke of Norfolk, high-steward of England on that occasion.

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The indictment having been read, containing a charge against him of high-treason, the duke of Northumberland, with great reverence towards the judges, protested his faith and allegiance to the queen, whom he confessed grievously to have offended; and said he meant not to speak any thing in defence of his acts, but requested to understand the opinion of the court in two points:

First, Whether a man, doing any thing by the authority of the prince's council, and by warrant of the great-seal of England, and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with treason for any thing he might do by warrant thereof?

Secondly, Whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or pass upon his trial as his peers?

To which it was answered, That the great-seal, which he had for his warrant, was not the seal of the lawful queen of the realm, nor passed by authority; but the seal of an usurper; and therefore could be no warrant to him; and, that, if any were as deeply to be touched in the case as himself, yet, so long as no attainder was of record against them, they were persons able in law to pass on any trial, and to be challenged but at the prince's pleasure.---After which answer, the duke used few words, but confessed the indictment; by whose example the other prisoners arraigned with  
with

with him did the like, and thereupon had judgment.

The duke, on receiving his sentence, said, "I beseech you, my lords, all to be humble suitors to the queen's majesty, and to grant me four requests: First, That I may have that death which noblemen have had in times past, and not the other. Secondly, That her majesty will be gracious to my children, which may hereafter do good service, considering that they went by my commandment, who am their father; and not of their own free wills. Thirdly, That I may have appointed to me some learned men for the instruction and quiet of my conscience; and, Fourthly, That she will send two of the council to commune with me, to whom I will declare such matters as shall be expedient for her and the commonwealth. And thus I beseech you all to pray for me."

After his condemnation, he was carried back to the Tower, where he remained a close prisoner. Monday, the twenty-first of August, was the day fixed for his execution: when a vast concourse of people assembled upon Tower-hill, all the usual preparations being made, and the executioner ready: but, after waiting some hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford time for his making an open shew of the change of his religion, since that very day, in the presence of the mayor and aldermen, as well as some of



the privy-council, he heard mass in the Tower. The next day, he was actually brought out to suffer death, on the same scaffold on Tower-hill; where he made a very long speech to the people; of which there remains nothing but what relates to his religion; which he not only professed to be then that of the church of Rome, but that it had been always so; taking upon himself the odious character of a hypocrite in the sight of God, as well as a dissembler with men.

John Fox affirms, that he had a promise of pardon, even if his head was upon the block, if he would recant and hear mass; and some have believed that he entertained such a hope to the last, from a passage in his speech.

“ Good people, all you that be here present to see me die, though my death be odious and horrible to the flesh, yet I beg you to judge the best in God’s works, for he doth all for the best: and, as for me, I am a wretched sinner, and have deserved to die, and most justly am condemned to die by law: and yet this act, whereof I die, was not altogether of me; but I was procured and induced thereto by others: howbeit, God forbid that I should name any man unto you, and therefore I beseech you look not for it. I, for my part, forgive all men, and pray God also to forgive them; and, if I have offended any of you here, I pray you and all the world to forgive me; and most chiefly I desire forgiveness of the  
queen’s

queen's highness, whom I have most grievously offended : and I pray you all to witness for me, that I depart in perfect love and charity with all the world ; and, that you will assist me with your prayers at the hour of death: And here I do protest unto you, good people, most earnestly, even from the bottom of my heart, that this which I have spoken is of myself, not being required nor moved thereunto by any man ; nor by any flattery, or hope of life ; and I take witness of my lord of Worcester here, mine old friend and ghostly father, that he found me in this mind and opinion when he came to me ; but I have declared this only upon mine own mind and affection, and for the zeal and love that I bear to my natural country. I could, good people, rehearse much more, even by experience, that I have, of this evil that hath happened to this realm by these occasions ; but you know I have another thing to do, whereunto I must prepare me, for the time draweth away. And now I beseech the queen's highness to forgive me mine offences against her majesty, whereof I have a singular hope, forasmuch as she has already extended her goodness and clemency so far upon me, that whereas she might forthwith, without judgment, or any farther trial, have put me to a most vile and cruel death, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, forasmuch as I was in the field in arms against her majesty. Her highness, nevertheless, of her most mer-

ciful goodness, suffered me to be brought to my judgment, and to have my trial by law, where I was most justly condemned. And her highness hath now also extended her mercy and clemency upon me, for the manner and kind of my death: and therefore my hope is, that her grace, of her goodness, will remit all the rest of her indignation and displeasure towards me, which I beseech you all most heartily to pray for; and that it may please God long to preserve her majesty, to reign over you in much honour and felicity."

After this he behaved with becoming courage and composure, putting off his damask gown when he had done speaking, and then kneeled down, saying, to them that were about him, "I beseech you all to bear me witnesses, that I die in the true catholic faith:" and then said the psalms of Miserere and De Profundis; his Pater Noster, and six of the first verses of the psalm, In te Domine speravi; ending with this verse, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." And, when he had thus ended his prayers, the executioner asked him forgiveness, to whom he said, "I forgive thee with all my heart, do thy part without fear." And bowing towards the block he said, "I have deserved a thousand deaths." Then laid his head on the block, and was beheaded; whose body, with the head, was buried in the Tower by the body of Edward, duke of Somerset: so that there lie between the  
high

## JOHN DUDLEY. 101

high altar in St. Peter's church, two dukes between two queens; viz. queen Anne and queen Catharine; all four beheaded.

Such was the end of this potent nobleman, who, with the title of a duke, exercised, for some time, a power little inferior to that of a king; in the fifty-first, or, at most, in the fifty-second, year of his age; one differently represented by our historians; but of whom it may be truly said, that, though even his enemies could not deny he had many great, and some good, qualities, yet the best friends to his memory must confess, they were much over-balanced by his vices.

Camden, speaking of the earl of Warwick, says, "He was a man of antient nobility, comely in stature and countenance, but of little gravity or abstinence in pleasures; yea, sometimes almost dissolute; which was not much regarded, if, in a time when vices began to grow in fashion, a great man was not over severe. He was of a great spirit, and highly aspiring; not forbearing to make any mischief the means of attaining his ambitious ends. Hereto his good wit and pleasant speeches were altogether serviceable; having the art also, by empty promises and threats, to draw others to his purpose. In matters of arms, he was both skilful and industrious; and, as well in forefight as resolution, present and great. To say truth, for enterprizes by arms, he was the minion of that time; so as few things he at-



tempted but he atchieved with honour; which made him more proud and ambitious when he had done. He generally increased both in estimation with the king, and authority among the nobility; doubtful, whether, by fatal destiny to the state, or whether by his virtues, or, at least, by his appearances of virtues."



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*Hugh Latimer Bish. of Worcester ..*

THE LIFE OF  
HUGH LATIMER.

**H**UGH LATIMER was born at Thirk-  
esson in Leicestershire, about the year  
1470. His father was a yeoman of good re-  
putation, had no land of his own, but rented  
a small farm, on which, in those frugal times,  
he maintained a large family, six daughters,  
and a son. Mr. Latimer, in one of his court  
sermons, in king Edward's time, inveighing  
against the oppression then exercised in the  
country by the nobility and gentry, and speak-  
ing of the moderation of landlords a few years  
before, and the plenty in which their tenants  
lived, tells his audience, in his familiar way,  
"That upon a farm of four pounds a year at  
the utmost, his father tilled as much ground  
as kept half a dozen men; that he had it  
stocked with an hundred sheep, and thirty  
cows; that he found the king a man and  
horse, himself remembring to have buckled on  
his father's harness, when he went to Black-  
heath; that he gave his daughters five pounds  
a-piece at marriage; that he lived hospitably  
among his neighbours, and was not backward  
in his alms to the poor."

We meet with nothing about Mr. Latimer  
worth relating, till we find him a master of  
arts, in priest's orders, at Cambridge. Here



his youth had been wholly employed on the divinity of the times. He read the schoolmen and the scriptures with the same reverence, and held Thomas a Becket and the apostles in equal honour ; in a word, he was a zealous papist. Many of the reformed opinions, which were then fermenting in Germany, had by this time discovered themselves in England. The legislature had not yet interfered ; but the watchful priests had taken the alarm, and the danger of the church was already become the popular cry. Mr. Latimer, among others, heard, with great indignation, these novel teachers : zeal wrought the same effect in him, that interest did in the many ; and while others were apprehensive that their temporals might be in danger, he was concerned for the souls of men. The last times, he thought, were now approaching : impiety was gaining ground apace : what lengths might not men be expected to run, when they began to question even the infallibility of the pope ?

As his well-meant zeal was thus inflamed, it of course broke out into all the effects of bigotry. He inveighed publicly and privately against the reformers. If any read lectures in the schools suspected of their tenets, Mr. Latimer was sure to be there to drive out the scholars ; and having an opportunity, when he commenced bachelor of divinity, to give an open testimony of his dislike to their proceedings, he made an oration against Melancthon, whom he treated with great severity

for

for his impious innovations in religion. His zeal was so much taken notice of in the university, that he was elected into the office of cross-bearer in all public processions; an employment, which he accepted with reverence, and discharged with becoming solemnity.

Among those in Cambridge, who at this time favoured the reformation, the most considerable was Thomas Bilney. He was a man of the strictest life; and having long observed the scandalous state of monkery in the nation, and the prevailing debauchery of the clergy, he was led to doubt, whether their principles might not be as corrupt as their practice. Time increased his suspicions. He read Luther's writings, and approved them: he talked with the papists, and observed a bitterness and rancour in their stile, which ill became a good cause. In few words, he began to see popery in a very disagreeable light, and made no scruple to own it.

It was Mr. Latimer's good fortune to be well acquainted with this religious person. Mr. Bilney had long indeed conceived very favourable sentiments of him. He had known his life in the university, a life moral and devout: he ascribed his failings to the genius of his religion; and, notwithstanding his more than ordinary zeal in the profession of that religion, he could not but observe in him a very candid temper. Induced by these favourable appearances, Bilney failed not, as opportuni-

ties offered, to suggest many things to Latimer about corruptions in religion, and would frequently drop a hint, that in the Romish church in particular there were, perhaps, some things, which rather deviated from apostolic plainness. Thus starting cavils, and infusing suspicions, he prepared the way for his whole creed, which at length he opened; concluding with an earnest persuasion, that Mr. Latimer would only endeavour to divest himself of his prejudices, and place the two sides of the question before him, with an honest heart for his guide. How Mr. Latimer at first received these free declarations, and by what steps he attained a settlement in his religious opinions, does not appear; this only we find in general, that Bilney's friendship towards him had its effect.

Mr. Latimer no sooner ceased from being a zealous papist, than he became (such was his constitutional warmth) a zealous protestant. He had nothing of that neutral coolness in his temper, which the Athenian lawgiver discouraged in a commonwealth. Accordingly, we soon find him very active in supporting and propagating the reformed opinions. He endeavoured with great assiduity to make converts, both in town, and in the university; preaching in public, exhorting in private, and every where pressing the necessity of a good life, in opposition to those outward performances, which were then thought the essentials of religion.

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The first remarkable opposition he met with from the popish party, was occasioned by a course of sermons he preached during the holidays of Christmas, before the university, in which he spoke his sentiments with great freedom upon many opinions and usages, maintained and practised in the Romish church. In these sermons he shewed the impiety of indulgences, the uncertainty of tradition, and the vanity of works of supererogation : he inveighed against that multiplicity of ceremonies with which true religion was incumbered, and the pride and usurpation of the Romish hierarchy : but what he most insisted upon was, that great abuse of locking up the scripture in an unknown tongue ; giving his reasons without any reserve, why it ought to be put in every one's hands.

Great was the outcry occasioned by these discourses. Mr. Latimer was then a preacher of some eminence, and began to display a remarkable address in adapting himself to the capacities of the people. The orthodox clergy observing him thus followed, thought it high time to oppose him openly. This task was undertaken by Dr. Buckenham, prior of the Black Friars, who appeared in the pulpit a few Sundays after, and with great pomp and prolixity, shewed the dangerous tendency of Mr. Latimer's opinions : particularly he inveighed against his heretical notions of having the scriptures in English, laying open the ill



effects of such an innovation. "If that heresy, said he, should prevail, we should soon see an end of every thing useful among us. The ploughman reading, that if he put his hand to the plough, and should happen to look back, he was unfit for the kingdom of God, would soon lay aside his labour: the baker likewise reading, that a little leaven will corrupt his lump, would give us very insipid bread: the simple man likewise finding himself commanded to pluck out his eyes, in a few years we should have the nation full of blind beggars."

Mr. Latimer could not help listening with secret pleasure to this ingenious reasoning. Perhaps, he had acted as prudently, if he had considered the prior's arguments as unanswerable; but he could not resist the vivacity of his temper, which strongly inclined him to expose this solemn trisler. The whole university met together on Sunday, when it was known Mr. Latimer would preach, That vein of pleasantry and humour, which ran through all his words and actions would have here, it was imagined, full scope: and, to say the truth, the preacher was not a little conscious of his own superiority. To complete the scene, just before the sermon began, prior Buckenham himself entered the church, with his coul about his shoulders, and seated himself, with an air of importance, before the pulpit.

Mr.

Mr. Latimer, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, placed them in the strongest light, and then rallied them with such a flow of wit, and at the same time with so much good humour, that, without the appearance of ill-nature, he made his adversary in the highest degree ridiculous. He then, with great address, appealed to the people, descanted upon the low esteem in which their holy guides had always held their understandings; expressed the utmost offence at their being treated with such contempt, and wished his honest countrymen might only have the use of the scripture till they shewed themselves such absurd interpreters. He concluded his discourse with a few observations upon scripture metaphors. A figurative manner of speech, he said, was common in all languages: representations of this kind were in daily use, and generally understood. "Thus, for instance, said he, (addressing himself to that part of the audience where the prior was seated) when we see a fox painted preaching in a friar's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocrisy are described, which are so often found disguised in that garb."

But it is probable, Mr. Latimer thought this levity unbecoming: for when one Venetus, a foreigner, not long after, attacked him again upon the same subject, and in manner the most scurrilous and provoking, we find him using a graver strain. He answers, like a scholar,

scholar, what is worth answering; and, like a man of sense, leaves the absurd part to confute itself. Whether he ridiculed, however, or reasoned, with so much of the spirit of true oratory, considering the times, his harangues were so animated, that they seldom failed of their intended effect: his raillery shut up the prior within his monastery, and his arguments drove Venetus from the university.

These things greatly alarmed the orthodox clergy. Of this sort were all the heads of colleges, and, indeed, the senior part of the university. Frequent convocations were held; tutors were admonished to have a strict eye over their pupils; and academical censures of all kinds were inflicted. But academical censures were found insufficient. Mr. Latimer continued to preach, and heresy to spread. The true spirit of popery, therefore, began to exert itself, and to call aloud for the secular arm.

Dr. West was at that time bishop of Ely: to him, as their diocesan, the heads of the popish party applied. But the bishop was not a man for their purpose: he was a papist indeed, but moderate. He came to Cambridge, however; examined the state of religion, and at their intreaty, preached against heretics: but he would do nothing further. Only, indeed, he silenced Mr. Latimer; which, as he had preached himself, was an instance of his prudence. But this gave no great check to the reformers. There happened at that time

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## HUGH LATIMER. 111

to be a protestant prior in Cambridge, Dr. Barnes, of the Austin Friars. His monastery was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and being a great admirer of Mr. Latimer, he boldly licenced him to preach there. Hither his party followed him; and the late opposition having greatly excited the curiosity of the people, the friars chapel was soon unable to contain the crowds that attended. Among others, it is remarkable, that the bishop of Ely was often one of his hearers; and had the ingenuity to declare, that Mr. Latimer was one of the best preachers he had ever heard.

The credit to his cause which Mr. Latimer had thus gained by preaching, he maintained by sanctity of manners. Mr. Bilney and he did not satisfy themselves with acting unexceptionably, but were daily giving instances of goodness, which malice could not scandalize, nor envy misinterpret. They were always together concerting their schemes. The place where they used to walk, was long afterwards known by the name of the Heretics hill. Cambridge at the time was full of their good actions: their charities to the poor, and friendly visits to the sick and unhappy, were then common topics.

When complaints came from Cambridge of the daily increase of heresy, Tunstal, bishop of London, with an air of sanctity, shook his head, declaring it was shameful indeed, very shameful! Warham raged loud, and  
talked



## 112 BRITISH PLUTARCH

talked of nothing but fire and extirpation, root and branch ; while Wolsey treated the whole as a jest, attributing it to the envy of a few illiterate priests, against men of superior merit. But complaints from Cambridge increasing daily, and Warham of course growing more importunate, the cardinal was at length obliged to shake off his indifference, and begin to act. He erected a court, therefore, consisting of bishops, divines, and canonists. Tunstall was made president, and Bilney, Latimer, and one or two more, were called upon to answer for their conduct. Bilney was considered as the heresiarc, and against him chiefly the rigour of the court was levelled. His examination was accordingly severe : every witness was heard with so much attention, and every deposition enlarged upon with so much bitterness, that Tunstall despaired of mixing any temper with the proceedings of his colleagues. The process came to an end, and the criminal, declaring himself what they called an obstinate heretic, was found guilty. Here Tunstall had an opportunity to shew the goodness of his heart. He could not interfere in Mr. Bilney's favour in a judicial way, but he laboured to save him by all the means in his power. The good bishop in the end prevailed : Bilney could not withstand the winning rhetoric of Tunstall, though he had withstood all the menaces of the inflamed Warham. He recanted, bore his saggot, and was dismissed.

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As for Mr. Latimer, and the rest, they had easier terms: Tunstall omitted no opportunities of shewing mercy, and was dextrous in finding them; though it is probable, that, among so many voices, he would hardly have prevailed, if the cardinal had not countenanced his proceedings.

The heretics, upon their dismissal, returned to Cambridge, where they were received with open arms by their friends. Amidst this mutual joy, Bilney alone seemed unaffected; he shunned the sight of his acquaintance, and received their officious congratulations with confusion and blushes. In this state he continued about three years, reading much, avoiding company, and, in all respects, observing the severity of an ascetic. During this time, and especially towards the latter part of it, he would frequently be throwing out obscure hints of his meditating some extraordinary design. He would say that he was now almost prepared;—that he would shortly go up to Jerusalem;—and, that God must be glorified in him. After keeping his friends awhile in suspense by this mysterious language, he told them, at last, that he was fully determined to expiate his late shameful abjuration by his death. What they could oppose had no weight. He had taken his resolution; and, breaking at once from all his attachments in Cambridge, he set out for Norfolk, which was the place of his nativity; and which, for that  
reason

reason, he chose to make the scene of his death. When he came there, he went about the country, confessing his guilt in abjuring a faith, in which he was now determined to die. Popery, he told the people, was a most diabolical religion; and exhorted them to beware of idolatry, and to trust no longer in the cowl of St. Francis, in prayers to saints, in pilgrimages, penances, and indulgences; but rather to believe in Jesus Christ, and to lead good lives; which was all that God required of them.

The report of this very extraordinary preacher soon reached the ears of the bishop of Norwich, who watched over those parts with the zeal of an inquisitor. Mr. Bilney was quickly apprehended, and secured in the county-goal. While he lay there waiting the arrival of the writ for his execution, he gave very surprising instances of a firm and collected mind. He began now to recover from that abject state of melancholy which had before oppressed him. Some of his friends found him eating a hearty supper the night before his execution; and expressing their surprize, he told them, he was but doing what they had daily examples of in common life: he was only keeping his cottage in repair, while he continued to inhabit it. The same composure ran through his whole behaviour; and his conversation was that evening more agreeable than his friends almost ever remembered it. He dwelt

dwelt much upon a passage in Isaiah, which he said gave him much comfort. "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee; thou art mine. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee: I am the Lord thy God." With equal constancy he went through his last trial. His death, which Mr. Fox relates at large, was as noble an instance of christian courage as those times, fruitful of such examples, afforded. The popish party would have had it afterwards believed he died in their faith: and great pains were taken by many of them to propagate the story. But Mr. Fox, bishop Burnet, and others, have sufficiently refuted the many idle things which were said upon that occasion.

The following account of him, Mr. Latimer hath left us in a letter to a friend.

"I have known Bisney," says he, "a great while; and, to tell you what I have always thought of him, I have known few so ready to do every man good, after his power; noisome, wittingly, to none; and, towards his enemy, charitable and reconcileable. To be short, he was a very simple, good soul; nothing meet for this wicked world; whose evil state he would lament and bewail, as much as any man that I never knew. As for his singular learning, as well in the holy scriptures, as in other good letters, I will not now speak of it. How he ordered, or misordered himself in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withal: but I cannot but wonder, if  
a man



a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continently, so studiously, and so virtuously, should die an evil death."

It happened that, among other tracts about this time dispersed, there was one written in a warmer language than ordinary. It was entitled, The Supplication of the Beggars, and contained a very severe invective against the regular clergy. This piece roused the whole body; and a successful application was made to the king, who immediately issued out a most severe proclamation against heretical books, empowering the bishops to imprison or fine all persons suspected of having them, till the party had purged himself, or abjured; and sheriffs were to arrest all suspected persons, and deliver them to the bishops.

The sword thus put into the hands of the clergy, was presently unsheathed. The effects of this proclamation were indeed very dreadful. It would surprize the good people of England at this day to hear, that many of their forefathers were burnt for reading the Bible, and teaching their children the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer in English: but such things were then called heresy.

On this occasion Mr. Latimer took upon him to write to the king. He had preached before him once or twice at Windsor, and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects: but, whatever hopes of preferment

preferment his sovereign's favour might have raised in him, as he was generally considered as one of the most eminent of those who favoured protestantism, he thought it became him to be one of the most forward in opposing popery. His letter is the picture of an honest sincere heart; and was chiefly intended to point out to the king the bad intention of the bishops in procuring the proclamation.

"St. Augustin," says he, "in an epistle to Casulanus, tells us, That he who, through fear, hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of Heaven, as a person who fears man more than God.---And St. Chrysostom, to the same effect, gives it, as his opinion, That a person may betray the truth as well by concealing it, as disguising it.---These sentences, great king, occurred to me very lately; and have had such an effect upon me, that I must either open my conscience to your majesty, or rank myself among such persons as these two holy fathers censure. The latter I cannot think of.

"But, alas! there are men upon whom such severe censures can have no effect: there are men, who, pretending to be guides and teachers in religion, not only conceal the truth, but prohibit others to set it forth: blind guides who shut up the kingdom of Heaven from men, and will neither enter in themselves, neither suffer them that would to enter; and, not content with obstructing the word of God to the utmost of their own authority, they have contrived, by their subtil practices, to draw  
in

in to their assistance the civil power in almost all the states of christendom. In this nation, especially, they have long imposed upon their subjects by their delusions, and kept them in awe by their spiritual censures; and, when they saw the truth likely to prevail, and gather strength from their opposition, they have at length obtained your majesty's proclamation in their favour, and have got it declared treason to read the scripture in English.

“ Hear me, I beseech your majesty, a few words, and let me intreat you to call to mind the example of Christ and his apostles, their manner of life, their preaching, and whole behaviour; that, comparing them with the spiritual guides of these days, your majesty may the better judge who are the true followers of Christ.

“ And, first, it is evident, that simplicity of manners, and hearts, sequestered from the world, were the striking characteristics of the first preachers of the Gospel, and of our blessed Lord himself. Poverty in spirit was then practised as well as preached. Alas! it is since those days that christian teachers, masking their worldly hearts under a pretence of voluntary poverty, and an exclusion from carnal things, have wormed themselves into more than regal wealth; and have wickedly kept what they have craftily obtained, by fomenting foreign or domestic strife, in all places, as their purposes were best served; and by blasphemously

phemously dealing out even the punishments of Heaven against all who had resolution enough to make a stand against their corruptions. By what arts they have evaded a late act of parliament against their encroachments, your majesty well knows.---Think not, gracious sovereign, that I exceed the bounds of charity in what I say; I only offer to your majesty's consideration a rule which was once prescribed by a greater master, 'By their fruits you shall know them.'

"Another mark of the true disciples of Christ, is, their being at all times exposed to persecution. It would be endless to quote all the passages of scripture in which this burden is universally laid upon good christians. Contempt and reproach is their common lot, and often the most violent persecutions, even to death itself. Where-ever, therefore, the word of God is truly preached, you must expect to see persecution in one shape or other. On the contrary, wherever you see ease and luxury, and a quiet possession of worldly pleasures, there the truth cannot possibly be. For the world loveth only such as are worldly; and the favourers of the Gospel can expect nothing in it from reason, and are promised nothing in it by scripture, but vexation and trouble.—From this distinction again, your majesty, by the assistance of the above-mentioned rule, 'By their fruits you shall know them,' will be able to judge, who are the true followers of Christ: where-ever you observe persecution,  
there



there is more than a probability that the truth lies on the persecuted side.

“ As for a notion, which has been infused into your majesty, that the scriptures, in the hands of the people, might move them to rebellion, your majesty may judge of the falsehood of this likewise by the same rule: ‘ By their fruit you shall know them.’ How is it possible that a book, which inculcates obedience to magistrates with the greatest earnestness, can be the cause of sedition? The thing speaks itself, and discovers only how much their malice is at a loss for topics of invective.

“ When king David sent ambassadors to the young king of the Ammonites, to condole with him upon the death of his father, your majesty may remember what unadvised counsel was given to that rash prince. His counsellors put it into his head, contrary to all reason, that David’s messengers came only as spies, and that David certainly meant an invasion. The young king, upon this, without farther ceremony, wantonly shaved the heads of the ambassadors, and treated them with other instances of contempt. But the following verses inform us how the affair ended. The destruction of the whole land, we read, was the consequence of the king’s listening to imprudent counsel.

“ Let not, great king, this fact find its parallel in English story. The ambassadors of a great prince are now making suit to you; the holy evangelists and the apostles of Christ.

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Be upon your guard ; and believe not the idle tales of those who would persuade you, that these messengers of peace are coming to foment sedition in your land. Would your majesty know the true cause of this confederacy, as I may well call it, against the word of God ; examine the lives of those who are the leaders of it, and consider whether there may not be some private reasons inducing such persons to keep a book in concealment, which cries out loudly against all kinds of vice : and, if your majesty wants to know the source of rebellions, I think a much fairer one may be conjectured at, than the use of an English Bible. For my own part, I have long been of opinion, that a greater encouragement of all kinds of civil disorder could hardly have been invented, than the church-trade of pardons and indulgences : to which may be added the bad examples of the clergy, and the little care they are generally thought to take in the discharge of their duty.

“ As for those who are now in question about your majesty’s late proclamation, I am credibly informed, there is not one among them, who hath not, in every respect, demeaned himself as a peaceable and good subject ; excepting only this one case, in which they thought their religion and consciences concerned. In this particular, however, I excuse them not : nor will I take upon me intirely to defend the books for which they suffer ; for, indeed, many of them I have never read : only

this your majesty must give me leave to say, that it is impossible the many inconveniences can follow from these books, and especially from the scripture, which they would persuade mankind, will follow.

“Accept, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written. I thought it my duty to mention these things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel: indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your majesty may see through all the designs of evil men; and be, in all things, equal to the high office with which you are entrusted! But, gracious king, remember yourself; have pity upon your own soul; and think that the day is at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword. In the which day, that your grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him who suffered death for our sins. The spirit of God preserve you!”

With such freedom did this worthy man address his sovereign; but the influence of the popish

popish party was then so great, that his letter produced no effect.

The king's divorce was not yet brought to an issue. The legantine court, under the influence of Rome, was slow in its determinations. But the tediousness of the suit at length got the better of Henry's patience; and, finding himself duped by the Roman pontiff, he took it into his own hands: the pope's power was abrogated in England, and the king's supremacy established in its stead.

The part which Mr. Latimer acted in this affair, was one of the first things which brought him forward in life.

Among those who served the king in it, was Dr. Butts, his physician. This gentleman being sent to Cambridge, began immediately to pay his court to the protestant party, from whom the king expected most unanimity in his favour. Among the first, he made his application to Mr. Latimer, as a person most likely to serve him; begging that he would collect the opinions of his friends in the case, and do his utmost to bring over those of most eminence, who were still inclined to the papacy. Mr. Latimer, who was a thorough friend to the cause he was to solicit, undertook it with his usual zeal; and discharged himself so much to the satisfaction of the doctor, that, when that gentleman returned to court, he took Mr. Latimer along with him, and lord Cromwell, who conceived a high

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regard for Mr. Latimer, very soon procured him a benefice.

This living was in Wiltshire, whither Mr. Latimer resolved, as soon as possible, to repair, and keep a constant residence. His friend Dr. Butts, surprised at his resolution, did what he could to persuade him from it. He was deserting, he told him, the fairest appearances of making his fortune. But Mr. Latimer was not a man on whom such arguments had any weight. He had no other notion of making his fortune, than that of putting himself in a way of being useful. He left the court, therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his parish; hoping to be of some use in the world, by faithfully exerting, in a private station, such abilities as God had given him. His behaviour was suitable to his resolutions. He thoroughly considered the office of a clergyman; and discharged it in the most conscientious manner. Nor was he satisfied with discharging it in his own parish, but extended his labours throughout the county, where he observed the pastoral care most neglected; having, for this purpose, obtained a general licence from the university of Cambridge.

His preaching, which was in a strain wholly different from the preaching of the times, soon made him acceptable to the people; among whom, in a little time, he established himself in great credit. He was treated likewise very civilly by the neighbouring gentry;

try ; and at Bristol, where he often preached, he was countenanced by the magistrates. The reputation he was thus daily gaining, presently alarmed the orthodox clergy in those parts. Their opposition to him appeared first on this occasion :

The mayor of Bristol had appointed him to preach there on an Easter-sunday. Public notice had been given, and all people were pleased ; when suddenly there came out an order from the bishop of Bristol, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. The clergy of the place waited upon Mr. Latimer, informed him of the bishop's order, and, knowing that he had no such a licence, " were extremely sorry, that they were, by that means, deprived of the pleasure of hearing an excellent discourse from him." Mr. Latimer received their civility with a smile ; for he had been apprised of the affair, and well knew, that these were the very persons who had written to the bishop against him.

Their opposition to him became afterwards more publick. Some of them ascended the pulpit in their zeal, and inveighed against him with great indecency of language. Of these the most forward was one Hubbendin, an empty, impudent fellow, who could say nothing of his own, but any thing that was put into his mouth. Through this instrument, and others of the same kind, such liberties were taken with Mr. Latimer's character, that he thought it proper, at length, to justify

tify himself; and, accordingly, called upon his maligners to accuse him publicly before the mayor at Bristol. And, with all men of candour he was justified; for, when that magistrate convened both parties, and put the accusers upon producing legal proof of what they had said, nothing of that kind appeared; but the whole accusation was left to rest upon the uncertain evidence of some hear say information.

His enemies, however, were not thus silenced. The party against him became daily stronger and more inflamed. It consisted, in general, of the country priests of those parts, headed by some divines of more eminence. These persons, after mature deliberation, drew up articles against him, extracted chiefly from his sermons; in which he was charged with speaking lightly of the worship of saints; with saying, that there was no material fire in hell; and, that he had rather be in purgatory, than in Lollard's tower. These articles, in the form of an accusation, were laid before Stokesley, bishop of London. This prelate immediately cited Mr. Latimer to appear before him. But Mr. Latimer, instead of obeying the citation, appealed to his own ordinary; thinking himself wholly exempt from the jurisdiction of any other bishop. Stokesley, upon this, making a private cause of it, was determined at any rate to get him in his power. He applied therefore to archbishop Warham, whose zeal was nearly of a temper

temper with his own malice. The archbishop, being easily persuaded, cited Mr. Latimer to appear forthwith in his own court; where the bishop of London, and some other bishops, were commissioned to examine him. An archiepiscopal citation brought Mr. Latimer at once to a compliance. His friends would have had him to leave the country; but their persuasions were in vain. Before he set out for London, he wrote the following letter to a friend.

“ I marvel not a little, that my lord of London, having so large a diocese committed to his care, and so peopled as it is, can have leisure either to trouble me, or to trouble himself with me, so poor a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure. Methinks it were more comely for my lord, if it were comely for me to say so, to be a preacher himself, than to be a disquieter of preachers. If it would please his lordship to take so great labour and pain, as to come and preach in my little bishopric at Westkington, whether I were present or absent, I would thank his lordship heartily for helping to discharge me in my cure, as long as his predication was fruitful, and to the edification of my parishoners. But he may do as he pleaseth. I pray God he may do as well as I would wish him to do. And, as to my preaching, I trust in God, my lord of London cannot justly reprove it, if it be taken as I spake it; else it is not my preaching. Either my lord of London will judge mine.



mine outward man, or mine inward man. If he will have to do only with mine outward man, how I have ordered my life, I trust I shall please both my Lord God, and also my lord of London; for I have taught, but according to the scriptures, and the antient interpreters of scriptures; and with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity: and, as for voluntary things, I reprov'd the abuse, without condemning the things themselves. But, if my lord will needs invade my inward man, and break violently into my heart, I fear then, indeed, I may displease my lord of London. Finally, as you say, the matter is weighty, even as weighty as my life is worth, and ought to be well looked to: how to look well to it I know not, otherwise than to pray to my Lord God night and day, that, as he hath boldened me to preach his truth, so he likewise will strengthen me to suffer for it: and I trust that God will help me; which trust, if I had not, the ocean-sea should have divided my lord of London and me by this time."

In this laudable temper Mr. Latimer set out for London. It was in the depth of winter, and he was at this time labouring under a severe fit both of the stone and cholic. These things were hard upon him; but what most distressed him was, the thought of leaving his parish so exposed, where the popish clergy would not fail to undo, in his absence, what he had hitherto done. When he arrived in  
London,

London, he found a court of bishops and canonists assembled to receive him; where, instead of being examined, as he expected. about his sermons, the following paper was offered to him, which he was ordered to subscribe.

“ I believe, that there is a purgatory to purge the souls of the dead after this life: that the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms of the living: that the saints do pray as mediators for us in heaven: that it is profitable for christians to call upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God: that pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and reliques of saints, are meritorious: that they which have vowed perpetual chastity, may not break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope: that the keys of binding and loosing, delivered to Peter, do still remain with the bishops of Rome, his successors, although they live wickedly; and are, by no means, nor at any time, committed to laymen: that men may merit, at God's hand, by fasting, prayer, and other works of piety: that they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspected persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishop: that the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, are to be observed: that God, in every one of the seven sacraments, giveth grace to a man rightly receiving

ceiving the same : that consecrations, sanctifications, and blessings, by custom received into the church, are profitable : that it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix, and other saints, should be had in the church as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ and his saints : that it is laudable and profitable to deck and clothe those images, and to set up burning lights before them, to the honour of the said saints."

This paper being offered to Mr. Latimer, he read it over, and returned it again, refusing to sign it. The archbishop, with a frown, desired he would consider what he did. " We intend not," says he, " Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you ; we dismiss you, for the present : take a copy of the articles ; examine them carefully ; and God grant, that, at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper."

At the next meeting, and at several succeeding ones, the same scene was acted over again : both sides continued inflexible. The bishops, however, being determined, if possible, to make him comply, began to treat him with more severity. Of one of these examinations he gives us the following account.

" I was brought out," says he, " to be examined in a chamber, where I was wont to be examined ; but at this time it was somewhat altered. For, whereas before there was a fire in  
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in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney; and the table stood near the chimney's end. There was, among these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I took for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table-end. Then, among other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one; and, when I should make answer, 'I pray you, Mr. Latimer,' said he, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen plainly scratching behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all my answers, that I should not start from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answers; I could never else have escaped them."

Thus the bishops continued to distress Mr. Latimer; three times every week they regularly sent for him, with a view either to elicit something from him by captious questions: or to teaze him at length into a compliance: and indeed, at length, he was tired out. Accordingly, when he was next summoned, instead of going himself, he sent a letter to the archbishop; in which, with great freedom, he tells him, That the treatment he had of late met with, had fretted him into such a disorder, as rendered him unfit to attend them that day:



that, in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate with his grace, for detaining him so long from the discharge of his duty: that it seemed to him most unaccountable, that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others: that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress: that, if his sermons were what gave offence, which, he persuaded himself, were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them: that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people; and, that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man: that, if some abuses in religion did prevail, (as was then commonly supposed) he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them: that he wished all pastors might be obliged to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to those who were willing: that, as for the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused from subscribing them; while he lived he never would abet superstition: and, that, lastly, he hoped the archbishop would excuse what he had written; he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it; but, in that case, he thought a stronger obligation laid upon him.

What

What particular effect this letter produced, we are not informed; but the king, apprized of the ill usage Mr. Latimer met with, most probably by the lord Cromwell's means, interposed in his behalf, and rescued him out of the hands of his enemies. Mr. Fox leaves it in doubt, whether he was not, at length, prevailed upon to subscribe the bishop's articles; but we think it past dispute that he did not; for, if he had, what occasion had the king to interpose?

The unfortunate Ann Boleyn was at that time the favourite wife of Henry. She had imbibed from her youth the principles of the reformation, and continued still inclined to it. Whether she had been acquainted with Mr. Latimer before she met with him now at court, does not appear: she was extremely taken, however, with his simplicity, and apostolic appearance; and mentioned him to her friends as a person, in her opinion, as well qualified as any she had seen to forward the reformation. One of her friends, and as much her favourite as any, was the lord Cromwell, who failed not, with his usual address, to raise Mr. Latimer still higher in her esteem. In short, the queen and the minister agreed in thinking, that he was a man endowed with too many public virtues to be suffered to live obscure in a private station; and joined in an earnest recommendation of him to the king for a bishopric. Such suitors would have carried an harder point;  
nor,

nor, indeed, did the king want much sollicitation in his favour.

It happened that the sees of Worcester and Salisbury were at that time vacant by the deprivation of Ghinuccii, and Campegio, two Italian bishops, who fell under the king's displeasure upon his rupture with Rome. The former of these was offered to Mr. Latimer. As he had been at no pains to procure this promotion, he looked upon it as the work of Providence, and accepted it without much persuasion. Indeed he had met with so very rough a check already, as a private clergyman, and saw before him so hazardous a prospect in his old station, that he thought it necessary, both for his own safety, and for the sake of being of more service in the world, to shrowd himself under a little temporal power.

How he discharged his new office may easily be imagined. An honest conscience, which was his rule of conduct in one station, might be supposed such in another. But we are not left to conjecture. All the historians of these times, mention him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his duty. In overlooking the clergy of his diocese, which he thought the chief branch of the episcopal office, exciting in them a zeal for religion, and obliging them, at least, to a legal performance of their duty, he was uncommonly active, warm, and resolute. With the same spirit he presided over his ecclesiastical court; and either  
rooted

rooted out such crimes as were there cognizable, or prevented their becoming exemplary, by forcing them into corners. In visiting, he was frequent and observant; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; in reproving and exhorting, severe and persuasive.

Thus far he could act with authority; but, in other things, he found himself under difficulties. The ceremonies of the popish worship gave him great offence; and he neither durst, in times so dangerous and unsettled, lay them entirely aside; nor, on the other hand, was he willing entirely to retain them. In this dilemma his address was admirable. He enquired into their origin; and, when he found any of them, as some of them were, derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate the original meaning, though itself a corruption, in the room of a more corrupt practice. Thus he put the people in mind, when bread and water were distributed, that these elements, which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two sacraments of the Lord's supper, and baptism: the former, he said, reminded us of Christ's death; and the latter was only a simple representation of our being purified from sin. By thus reducing popery to its principles, he improved, in some measure, a bad flock, by lopping from it a few fruitless excrescences.

While



While his endeavours to reform were thus confined within his own diocese, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner; having received a summons to attend the parliament and convocation. This meeting was opened, in the usual form, by a sermon, or rather an oration, spoken by the bishop of Worcester, whose eloquence was, at this time, every where famous. But, as he did not distinguish himself in the debates of this convocation, for debating, which ran very high between the protestant and popish parties, was not his talent, it is beside our purpose to enter into a detail of the several transactions of it. We shall only add, that an animated attempt was at this time made to get him and Cranmer stigmatized by some public censure: but, through their own, and Cromwell's interest, they were too well established to fear any open attack from their enemies.

In the mean while, the bishop of Worcester, highly satisfied with the prospect of a reformation, repaired to his diocese, having made no longer stay in London than was absolutely necessary. He had no talents, and he knew that he had none, for state-affairs; and therefore he meddled not with them. His whole ambition was, to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, neither aiming to display the abilities of the statesman, nor those of the courtier. How very unqualified he was to support the latter of these characters, will sufficiently appear from the following story.

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It was the custom in those days for the bishops, upon the coming in of the new year, to make presents to the king; and many of them would present very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectances. Among the rest, the bishop of Worcester, being at this time in town, waited upon the king with his offering; but, instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down, in a very conspicuous manner, to this passage, "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge."

The bishop of Worcester, being again settled in his diocese, went on, with his usual application, in the discharge of his duty: but we meet with no particulars of his behaviour at this time, except only in one instance. A gentleman of Warwickshire, in a purchase, had done some hard things to a poor man in his neighbourhood; yet he had kept within the limits of the law, taking the advantage of some unguarded expression in a statute; having a brother a justice of the peace, and enough acquainted with the law to do mischief, who had negotiated the affair for him. As these two brothers were men of great fortune in the country, and over-awed the neighbouring gentlemen, the poor man had nothing to do, but to sit quietly under his oppression. But while he was reconciling himself to what had happened, some of his friends put him upon applying, in the way of a complaint, to the

the bishop of Worcester, whose character, as the common patron of the poor and oppressed, was every where much spoken of. The poor man approved the advice, and taking a journey to the bishop, acquainted him with the whole affair. The bishop heard his story, pitied his case, and sent him home, with a promise of his protection. Accordingly, he soon after wrote to the justice, who had been the chief agent in the affair, and endeavoured, by proper arguments, to raise in him a sense of the injury he had been guilty of; speaking his mind very freely both of him and his brother, yet treating them, at the same time, with proper civility. The two gentlemen were greatly incensed at this letter, and answered it in the spirit of detected guilt: "They had done only what was right, and would abide by it: that, as for the sufferer, the law was open; and, as for him, they could not but think he interfered very impertinently in an affair which did not concern him." But in the bishop of Worcester they had not to do with a person, who was easily shaken from an honest purpose. He acquainted them, in few words, "That if the cause of his complaint was not forthwith removed, he certainly would himself lay the whole affair before the king." And he had been, without doubt, as good as his word; but his adversaries did not care to put him to a trial.

Having now been about two years resident in his diocese, he was called up again to town  
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in the year 1539, to attend the business of parliament. Soon after his arrival in London, he was accused before the king of preaching a seditious sermon. The sermon was preached at court, and the preacher, according to his custom, had been, unquestionably, severe enough against whatever he observed amiss, His accuser, who is said to have been a person of great eminence about the king, was most probably the bishop of Winchester. But Latimer being called upon by the king, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, was so far from denying, or even palliating, what he had said, that he boldly justified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern which a good conscience inspires, made this answer: "I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am; and if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed, to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The greatness of this answer baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious



cious smile ; and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never used, but to those whom he esteemed.

The parliament, which had been summoned to meet on the 28th of April, having now sat a week, and being ready to enter upon business, the lord chancellor, on the 5th of May, informed the lords from the king, " That his majesty had, with extreme uneasiness, observed the distracted condition of his subjects, with regard to religion ; that he had nothing so much at heart as to establish an uniformity of opinion amongst them ; and that he, therefore, desired the lords would immediately appoint a committee to examine the several opinions that prevailed, and to fix upon certain articles for a general agreement." It was the manner, it seems, of those times, to use no ceremony in fixing a standard for men to think by ; and to vary that standard with as little ceremony, as new modes of thinking prevailed. The parliament, therefore, without any difficulty, complied ; and named for a committee, the lord Cromwell, the two archbishops, and the bishops of Worcester, Ely, Durham, Bath and Wells, Carlisle, and Bangor. Men of so opposite a way of thinking were not likely to agree. After eleven days, therefore, spent in warm debates, nothing was concluded. This was no more than was expected, and made room for the farce which followed.

On

## HUGH LATIMER. 149

On the twelfth day, the duke of Norfolk, according to the plan, which had been, without doubt, laid down, acquainted the lords, "That he found the committee had yet done nothing; that eleven days had been already spent in wrangling, and that he saw no possibility of coming to an agreement in that way. He begged leave, therefore, to offer to their lordships consideration, some articles which he himself had drawn up, and which he desired might be examined by a committee of the whole house." He then read the articles, which were these.

1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but the natural body and blood of Christ.

2. That vows of chastity ought to be observed.

3. That the use of private masses should be continued.

4. That communion in both kinds was not necessary.

5. That priests might not marry.

6. That auricular confession should be retained in the church.

The act of the six articles, (for so it was named) no sooner passed, than it gave an universal alarm to all the favourers of reformation. The bishop of Worcester was among those who first took offence at it; and, as he could not give his vote for the act, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church where  
such

such terms of communion were required. He resigned his bishopric, therefore, and retired into the country. It is related of him, that when he came from the parliament house to his lodgings, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to those who stood about him, "That he thought himself lighter, than ever he found himself before."

In consequence of this, he immediately retired into the country, where he thought of nothing, for the remainder of his days, but a sequestered life. But in the midst of his security, he received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek out for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful surgeons of those parts; with which view he repaired again to London. Here he found things still in a worse condition than he left them. Upon Lord Cromwell's fall, the persecution against the protestants had broke out in earnest. The duke of Norfolk, and the bishop of Winchester, who were the principal instruments in the ruin of that minister, were now at the head of the popish party: under the direction of these zealots, the sword was presently unsheathed; and such a scene of blood was opened, as England had not yet seen. Mr. Latimer, among others, felt the effects of their bigotry. Gardiner's emissaries soon found him out, and something, that somebody had somewhere heard him say against the six articles, being alledged against him, he was sent

to the Tower. Into what particulars his accusation was afterwards digested, or whether into any, we meet with no account. It is rather probable, that nothing formal was brought against him; for we do not find he was ever judicially examined. He suffered, however, through one pretence or other, a cruel imprisonment during the remainder of king Henry's reign.

But after remaining in the Tower upwards of six years, in the constant practice of every Christian virtue, that becomes a suffering state, immediately, upon the change of the government, under Edward VI. he, and all others who were imprisoned in the same cause, were set at liberty; and bishop Latimer, whose old friends were now in power, was received by them, with every mark of affection. Heath, who had succeeded him in the bishopric of Worcester, observing his credit at court, and fearing, lest it should be thought proper to re-instate him, was in a great dilemma how to conduct himself. Making false judgments, therefore, he applied to the papists, instead of the protestants. His party, and his folly, for he was, in every respect, an insignificant man, laid him so exceedingly open, that Mr. Latimer would have found no difficulty in dispossessing him. But when the parliament, which was then sitting, sent up an address to the protector, begging him to restore Mr. Latimer to the bishopric of Worcester,



cester, on the resumption being proposed to him, he desired to be excused, alledging his great age, and the claim he had from thence to a private life. In this manner were the fears of Dr. Heath quieted, and Mr. Latimer, having rid himself of all incumbrances, accepted an invitation from his friend, archbishop Cranmer, and took up his residence at Lambeth, where he led a very retired life.

We call it retired, because he saw little company, and never interfered in public affairs. His chief employment was to hear the complaints, and to redress the injuries, of the poor people; and his character for services of this kind was so universally known, that strangers, from every part of England, would resort to him, vexed either by the delays of public courts and offices, or harrassed by the oppressions of the great. "I cannot go to my book, (says he, giving an account of these avocations) for poor folks that come unto me, desiring that I will speak, that their matters may be heard. Now and then I walk in my lord of Canterbury's garden, looking in my book; but I can do but little good at it; for I am no sooner in the garden, and have read a little while, but by and by cometh some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith, Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you. When I come there, then it is some one or other that desireth me that I will speak, that his matter may be heard;

heard; or that telleth me he hath lain this long time at great costs and charges, or that he cannot once have his matter come to an hearing."

In these employments he spent more than two years; for, besides the distrust he had of his own judgment, he was a man of such exactness in his principles and practice, that he could scarce have made those allowances for men and measures, which prudent counsellors must make in corrupt times; and was backward, therefore, in drawing upon himself such engagements, as might lead him, more or less, into a deviation from truth. We find him, however, at this time, engaged in assisting archbishop Cranmer to compose the homilies, which were set forth by authority, in the first year of king Edward. A useful work this was, intended to supply the want of preaching, which was now at a very low ebb.

We have had frequent occasion to mention Mr. Latimer as a preacher; as indeed he was one of the most eloquent and popular of the age in which he lived; but at this time he appeared in that character in a more advantageous light than he had yet done; having been appointed, during the three first years of king Edward, to preach the Lent sermons before the king.

As to his sermons, which are still extant, they are far from being exact pieces of composition. Elegant writing was then little known; yet his simplicity, and low familiari-

ty, his humour and gibing drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceeding popular. His manner of preaching too was very affecting; and no wonder; for he spoke immediately from his heart.

In his last sermon, which he acquaints his audience, shall be the last he will ever preach in that place, he touches upon all the particular corruptions of the age. He begins it thus: "Take heed, and beware of covetousness: take heed, and beware of covetousness; take heed, and beware of covetousness: and what if I should say nothing else, these three or four hours, but these words? — Great complaints there are of it, and much crying out, and much preaching; but little amendment. Ye nobles, (says he) I wot not what rule ye keep, but, for God's sake, hear the complaints of the poor. Many complain against you, that ye lie in bed till eight, nine, or ten o'clock. I cannot tell what revel ye have over night, whether banquetting, dicing, carding, or how it is: but in the morning, when poor suiters come to your houses, ye cannot be spoke with. They are kept sometimes without your gates; or, if they be let into the hall, or some outer chamber, out cometh one or other, Sir, you cannot speak with my lord yet, he is asleep. And thus poor suiters are driven from day to day, that they cannot speak with you. For God's love, look

look better to it ; speak with poor men, when they come to your houses, and dispatch poor suiters. I went one day myself, betimes in the morning, to a great man's house, to speak with him of business. And methought, I was up betimes ; but when I came thither, the great man was gone forth about such affairs as be-hoved him. Well, thought I, this is well : I like this. This man doth somewhat regard his duty. I came too late for my own matter, and lost my journey ; but I was glad to be so beguiled. For God's sake, ye great men, follow this example : rise in the morning : be ready for suiters that resort to you ; and dispatch them out of hand. — In the city of Corinth, one had married his step-mother : he was a jolly fellow, a great rich man, belike an alderman of the city, and so they winked at it, and would not meddle with the matter. But St. Paul hearing of it, wrote unto them, and, in God's behalf, charged them to do away such abomination from among them : nor would he leave them, till he had excommunicated that wicked person. If ye now should excommunicate all such wicked persons, there would be much ado in England. But the magistrates shew favour to such, and will not suffer them to be rooted out, or put to shame. Oh ! he is such a man's servant, we may not meddle with him. Oh ! he is a gentleman, we may not put him to shame. And so lechery is used throughout all England ; and such lechery as is used in no other part of the world.



And yet it is made a matter of sport, a laughing matter, not to be heeded. But beware, ye magistrates ; for God's love beware of this heaven. I would wish that Moses's law might be restored for punishment of lechery.---Fear not man, but God. If there be a judgment between a poor man, and a great man, what, must there be a corruption of justice? Oh! he is a great man, I dare not displease him. Fie upon thee! art thou a judge, and wilt be afraid to give right judgment? Fear him not, be he never so great a man, but uprightly do true justice. Likewise some pastors go from their cure; they are afraid of the plague; they dare not come nigh any sick body; but hire others, and they go away themselves. Out upon thee! the wolf cometh upon thy flock to devour them; and, when they have most need of thee, thou runnest away from them. The soldier, also, that should go to war, will draw back as much as he can. Oh! I shall be slain. Oh! such and such went, and never came back. Such men went into Norfolk, and were slain there. But, if the king commandeth thee to go, thou art bound to go. Follow thy occupation; in serving the king, thou shalt serve God.

“ Ye bribers, that go about secretly taking bribes, have in your minds, when ye devise your secret fetches, how Elizeus's servant was served, and was openly known; for God's proverb will be true; ‘There is nothing hid, that shall not be revealed.’ He that took the silver

silver bason and ewer for a bribe, thinketh that it will never come out; but he may now know that I know it; and not only I, but there be many more that know it. It will never be merry in England till we have the skins of such: for what needeth bribing, where men do their business uprightly? I have to lay out for the king three thousand pounds: well, when I have laid it out, and bring in mine account, I must give three hundred marks to have my bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what need I give a penny to have my bills warranted? If I do bring in a true account, wherefore should one groat be given? Smell ye nothing in this? What need any bribes be given, except the bills be false?—Well, such practice hath been in England; but beware, it will out one day.—And here now I would speak to you, my masters minters, augmentationers, receivers, surveyors, and auditors: ye are known well enough what ye were afore ye came to your offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have purchased since, and what buildings ye make daily. Well: I doubt not but there be some good officers among you, but I will not swear for all:—and, for the love of God, let poor workmen be paid. They make their moan, that they can get no money. The poor labourers, gun-makers, powder-men, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, and other crafts, cry for their wages. They be unpaid, some of them three or four

months, some of them half a year; yea, some of them put up their bills this time twelve-month for their money, and cannot yet be paid. — The first Lent I preached here, I preached of restitution. ‘Restitution!’ quoth some, ‘What should he preach of restitution? Let him preach of contrition, and let restitution alone; we can never make restitution.’ Then, say I, if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt go to the devil. Now choose thee, either restitution, or damnation. There be two kinds of restitution, secret and open: and whether of the two be used, if restitution be made, it is well enough. At my first preaching of restitution, one man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged to me that he had deceived the king; and was willing to make restitution: so, the first Lent, twenty pounds came to my hands for the king’s use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent, but it could not be made up, so that it came not. Well, the next Lent, came three hundred and twenty pounds more; I received it myself, and paid it to the king’s council. There I was asked, what he was that had thus made restitution? But should I have named him? Nay, they should as soon have had this weafand of mine. Well; now this Lent came one hundred and eighty pounds more, which I have paid this very day to the king’s council: and so this man hath made a goodly restitution. If every one who hath beguiled the king, (said I to a certain nobleman, who is

one of the king's council) should make restitution after this sort, it would cough up the king, I warrant you, twenty thousand pounds. 'Yea,' quoth the other, 'a whole hundred thousand pounds.' Alack! alack! make restitution; for God's sake make restitution: you will cough in hell else, that all the devils will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy, restitution or hell. Now this is of secret restitution. Some examples have been of open restitution. I am not afraid to name one: it was master Sherington, an honest gentleman, and one that God loveth. He openly confessed, that he had deceived the king, and made open restitution. Oh, what an argument may he have against the devil!"

From this time we meet with no accounts of Mr. Latimer, during the remainder of king Edward's reign. It seems most probable, that, upon the revolution at court, he retired into the country, and made use of the king's licence, as a general preacher, in those parts where he thought his labours might be most useful: but, upon the accession of queen Mary, he soon lost this liberty. The bishop of Winchester, who had proscribed him with the first, sent a messenger to cite him before the council. He had notice of this design some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence; like other eminent reformers of that time, he chose rather to meet, than avoid a question.



The messenger therefore found him equipped for his journey : at which expressing his surprize, Mr. Latimer told him, That he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life : and, that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to stand before two princes, would enable him to stand before a third. The messenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter and departed. From which it is plain, they chose rather to drive him out of the kingdom, than to bring him to any public question. They well knew the firmness of his mind ; and were afraid, as Mr. Fox observes, “ lest his constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.”

Mr. Latimer, however, opening the letter, and finding it to contain a citation from the council, resolved to obey it. He set out, therefore, immediately for London. As he passed through Smithfield, where heretics were usually burnt, he said chearfully, “ This place hath long groaned for me.” The next morning he waited upon the council, who, having loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the Tower.

This was but a repetition of a former part of his life ; only he now met with harsher treatment, and had more frequent occasion to exercise his resignation ; which virtue no man possessed

possessed in a larger measure. Nay, even the usual cheerfulness of his disposition did not now forsake him; of which we have one instance still remaining. A servant leaving his apartment, Mr. Latimer called after him, and bid him tell his master, That, unless he took better care of him, he would certainly escape him.—Upon this message, the lieutenant, with some discomposure in his countenance, came to Mr. Latimer, and desired an explanation of what he had said to his servant. “Why, you expect, I suppose, Sir,” replied Mr. Latimer, “that I should be burned; but, if you do not allow me a little fire, this frosty weather, I can tell you I shall first be starved.”

On the subsequent disputation between the popish and protestant divines, appointed at Oxford, Latimer, with the other bishops, was sent down to that city: where they were all closely confined in the common prison. In this comfortless situation their chief resource was in prayer, in which they spent great part of every day. Mr. Latimer, particularly, would often continue kneeling till he was not able to rise without help. The principal subject of his prayers was, that God would enable him to maintain the profession of his religion to the last; that God would again restore his Gospel to England, and preserve the princess Elizabeth to be a comfort to this land.

Mr. Fox has preserved a conference, afterwards put into writing, which was held at this

time, between Ridley, bishop of London, and bishop Latimer. Ridley, of all the re-forming divines of that time, approached the nearest to the church of England in her present purity of doctrines and discipline. His notions of ecclesiastical polity were high, but, in general, just; and, in the œconomy of the church, he allowed an equitable regard to the authority of the state. He saw, and avoided, but could bear with the errors of all parties among the reformed; while the dignity, the affability, and the modesty of his behaviour, gave him a general esteem with all ranks of men. But, as the conference is worth the reader's notice, and may, without any great interruption, be inserted in this place, we shall take such passages from it as we think worth preserving.

The two bishops are represented sitting in their prison, ruminating upon the solemn preparations then making for their trial, of which probably they were now first informed. Bishop Ridley first broke silence. "The time," said he, "is now come; we are now called upon either to deny our faith, or to suffer death in its defence. You, Mr. Latimer, are an old soldier of Christ, and have frequently withstood the fear of death; whereas I am raw in the service, and unexperienced." With this preface he introduces a request, that Mr. Latimer, whom he calls his father, would hear him propose such arguments as he thought it most likely his adversaries would urge against him,

him, and assist him in providing himself with proper answers to them. To this, Mr. Latimer, in his usual strain of good-humour, answered, That, he fancied, the good bishop was treating him, as he remembered Mr. Bilney used formerly to do, who, when he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of being taught himself. "But, in the present case," says he, "my lord, I am determined, for myself, to give them very little trouble. I shall just offer them a plain account of my faith and shall say very little more; for I know any thing more will be to no purpose. They talk of a free disputation; but, I am well assured, their grand argument will be, as it was once their forefathers, We have a law, and by our law ye ought to die." However, upon Mr. Ridley's pressing his request, they entered upon the examination he desired.

This part of their conference contains little curious, only the common arguments against the tenets of popery. When they had finished this exercise, Ridley breaks out in this pathetic strain.

"Thus you see, good father, how I would prepare myself for my adversary; and how I would learn, by practice, to be expert in those weapons which I shall presently be obliged to wield. In Tine-dale, upon the borders of Scotland, the place of my nativity, I have known my countrymen watch night and day in arms; especially when they had notice of any intended inroad from the Scots. And,



though by such bravery many of them lost their lives, yet they defended their country, died in a good cause, and intailed the love of the neighbourhood upon their posterity. And shall not we watch in the cause of Christ, and in the defence of our religion, whereon depend all our hopes of immortality? Shall we not go always armed? ever ready to receive a watchful foe? Let us then awake; and, taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our captain, Christ, who, by his own blood, hath hallowed the way that leadeth to God.—

Thus, good father, I have opened my heart freely unto you. And now, methinks, I see you just about to lift up your eyes to Heaven, in your accustomed manner, and turning your propheticall countenance upon me, thus to speak: ‘Trust not, my son, (I pray you vouchsafe me the honour of this name, for in it I shall think myself both honoured by you and loved) trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons, but remember what our Lord says, ‘It shall be given you in that same hour what you shall speak.’ Pray for me, O father, pray for me, that I may throw my whole care upon God; and may trust in him only in my distresses.”

“Of my prayers,” replied the old bishop, “you may be well assured; nor do I doubt but I shall have your’s in return. And, indeed, prayer and patience should be our great resources. For myself, had I the learning of St. Paul, I should think it ill laid out upon an elaborate

elaborate defence. Yet our case, my lord, admits of comfort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; and God is faithful; who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. Be at a point with them; stand to that, and let them say and do what they please. To use many words would be vain; yet it is requisite to give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will hear you. For other things, in a wicked judgment-hall, a man may keep silence after the example of Christ. As for their sophistry, you know falshood may often be displayed in the colours of truth. But, above all things, be upon your guard against the fear of death. This is the great argument you must oppose. — Poor Shaxton! it is to be feared this argument had the greatest weight in his recantation. But let us be stedfast, and unmoveable; assuring ourselves that we cannot be more happy, than by being such Philippians, as not only believe in Christ, but dare suffer for his sake.”

In this convocation, which was held in St. Mary's hall, as specified in another place, and to which the queen had sent commissioners, the following articles were to be subscribed.

“ The natural body of Christ is really in the sacrament after the words spoken by the priest.

“ In the sacrament, after the words of consecration, no other substance does remain, than

than the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

“ In the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and dead.”

Dr. Ridley was first brought in, but, being tendered to him, he, without any hesitation, denied them. Upon which the prolocutor appointed him a disputation-day, and dismissed him.

Bishop Latimer was introduced next, like a primitive martyr, in his prison attire. He had a cap upon his head, buttoned under his chin, a pair of spectacles hanging at his breast, a New Testament under his arm, and a staff in his hand. He was almost spent with pressing through the croud; and the prolocutor ordering a chair to be brought for him, he walked up to it, and, saying he was a very old man, sat down without any ceremony. The articles were then read to him; which he denied also. The prolocutor, upon this, telling him that he must dispute on the Wednesday following, the old bishop, with as much chearfulness as he would have shewn upon the most ordinary occasion, shaking his palsied head, answered, smiling, “ Indeed, gentlemen, I am just as well qualified to be governor of Calais.” He then complained, that he was very old, and very infirm; and said, That he had the use of no book but that under his arm; which he had read seven times over deliberately, without finding the least mention made of the mass.

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In this speech he gave great offence, by saying, in his humorous way, alluding to transubstantiation, that he could find neither the marrowbones, nor the sinews, of the mass in the New Testament. Upon which, the prolocutor cried out, with some warmth, that he would make him find both; and when Mr. Latimer, recollecting himself, was going to explain his meaning in that expression, he was not suffered to speak.

At length, the appointed day came for the archbishop's disputation. You might have known something very uncommon was in agitation; for the whole university was in motion: Almost at day-break the schools were thronged. About eight o'clock, the commissioners took their seats. But we will not delay the reader with the particulars of the day on which bishop Ridley disputed. His defence, indeed, was very animated; for he had great quickness of parts as well as learning: and yet he would have acted as wise a part, if he had taken his friend bishop Latimer's advice, and contented himself with giving a reasonable account of his faith.

The day after the bishop of London disputed, bishop Latimer was called into the schools. Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, rising up, acquainted his hearers, That the cause of their meeting was to defend the orthodox doctrine of transubstantiation; and to confute certain novel opinions, which had been lately propagated with great zeal in the nation.

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“And of you, father,” said he, turning to the bishop, “I beg, if you have any thing to say, that you will be as concise as possible.” This was spoke in Latin. Upon which the bishop answered, “I hope, Sir, you will give me leave to speak what I have to speak in English : I have been very little conversant in the Latin tongue these twenty years.” The prolocutor consented : and the bishop, having thanked him, replied, “I will just beg leave then, Sir, to protest my faith ; indeed I am not able to dispute, I will protest my faith, and you may then do with me just what you please.”

Upon this he took a paper out of his pocket, and began to read his protestation. But he had not proceeded many minutes, when a murmur arose on every hand, encreasing by degrees into a clamour ; which the prolocutor was so far from checking, that, in a very indecent manner he patronised it, calling out, with some circumstances of rudeness, upon the bishop to desist.—The old man, surprised with this sudden tumult of ill-manners, paused in admiration at it ; but presently recovering himself, he turned to the prolocutor, and said, with some vehemence, “In my time I have spoken before two kings, and have been heard for some hours together, without interruption : here I cannot be permitted one quarter of an hour.—Dr. Weston, I have frequently heard of you before, but I think I never saw you till now. I perceive you have great wit, and great learning : God grant you may make a  
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right use of these gifts!" Other things he said; but these are the principal. His speech had its effect. The prolocutor took his paper, and said he would read it himself. But whether he could not read it, or would not, he presently laid it down, and called out to the bishop, "Since you refuse to dispute, will you then subscribe?" Upon his answering in the negative, Weston artfully led him, by a train of familiar questions, into an argument; and, when he thought he had raised him to a proper pitch, he gave a sign to Dr. Smith, the opponent, to begin; who, being prepared, rose up, and, in a pompous manner, prefaced the disputation, and gave out the question.—— When he had done, the old bishop gravely answered, "I am sorry, Sir, that this worshipful audience must be disappointed in their expectation. I have already spoken my mind."

The prolocutor observing this, began again in his artful manner to draw Mr. Latimer into an argument, "Pray, Sir, how long have you been in prison?" "About nine months, Sir." "But I was imprisoned," said Weston, "six years." "I am heartily sorry for it, Sir." "I think you were once, Mr. Latimer, of our way of thinking?" "I was, Sir." "I have heard too, that you have said mass in your time?" "I have, Sir."— He then asked him, Why he altered his opinion? and thus, by degrees, led him to answer the chief arguments brought from scripture  
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ture in favour of transubstantiation. They then began to ply him with the fathers ; and, first, a passage from Hillary was quoted. As he was about to answer, one of the commissioners called out to him, (on account of the populace, most probably,) " Mr. Latimer, speak in Latin ; speak in Latin ; I know you can do it, if you please." But the bishop, saying he had the prolocutor's leave, went on in English, and told them, That, as for the passage from Hillary, which they had quoted, he really could not see that it made much for them ; but he would answer them by another quotation from Melancthon ; who says, That, if the fathers had foreseen how much weight their authority was to have in this controversy, they would have written with more caution."

But the opponent, not being satisfied with this, begged leave to reduce the words of Hillary into a syllogistic argument, and begins thus : " Such as is the unity of our flesh with Christ's flesh, such, nay greater, is the unity of Christ with the Father. But the unity of Christ's flesh with our flesh, is true and substantial. Therefore, the unity of Christ with the Father, is true and substantial."---Here he paused, expecting that the bishop would deny his major or his minor, as the logicians speak. But, instead of that, he answered gravely, " You may go on, Sir, if you please ; but, upon my word, I do not understand you."

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The jargon of this learned doctor being silenced, others attacked him, but with equal success. He answered their questions, as far as civility required, but none of them could engage him in any formal disputation: and, when proofs from the fathers were multiplied upon him, he at length told them plainly, That such proofs had no weight with him; that the fathers, no doubt, were often deceived; and, that he never depended upon them, but when they depended upon scripture. "Then you are not of St. Chrysostom's faith," replied his antagonist, "nor of St. Austin's?" "I have told you," said Mr. Latimer, "I am not, except when they bring scripture for what they say."

Little more was said, when the prolocutor, finding it was impossible to urge him into a controversy, rose up, and dissolved the assembly; crying out to the populace, "Here you all see the weakness of heresy, opposed against the truth. Here is a man who, adhering to his errors, hath given up the gospel, and rejected the fathers." The old bishop made no reply; but, wrapping his gown about him, and taking up his New Testament, and his staff, walked out as unconcerned as he came in.

Thus he maintained, to the last, his resolution of not disputing; a resolution which he had not hastily taken. Mr. Addison, in his four hundred and sixty-fifth Spectator, greatly admires



admires his behaviour on this occasion. "This venerable old man," says he, "knowing how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, left his companions, who were in the full possession of their parts and learning, to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason. As for himself, he only repeated to his adversaries the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was determined to die."

These solemn disputations being thus at an end, nothing now remained but to pass sentence. On the Friday following, therefore, the commissioners, seated in their accustomed form, sent for the bishops to St. Mary's church: where, after some affected exhortations to recant, the prolocutor first excommunicated, and then condemned them. As soon as the sentence was read, bishop Latimer, lifting up his eyes, cried out, "I thank God, most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end!" To which the prolocutor replied, "If you go to heaven in this faith, I am thoroughly persuaded I shall never get there."

Three quarters of a year after these proceedings, for so long the bishops lay in Oxford prison, a new commission came down, consisting of the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol. These prelates were again to examine  
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their heretical brethren ; and, if still refractory, to consign them to the flames ; which commission was also confirmed by the pope : and, as it was the first judicial act, since the restitution of popery, in which his holiness interfered, the utmost respect which the university could pay to his delegates, was deemed only a proper testimony of its zeal. Their compliments being sufficiently discharged, on the thirtieth of September, 1555, the commissioners seating themselves in great state in the divinity-school, the two bishops were called before them. The bishop of London was first questioned. Then bishop Latimer was brought in ; to whom Lincoln, who was a polite and very eloquent man, spoke to this effect.

“ This parchment, Mr. Latimer, contains a commission from my lord cardinal Pole, under his holiness, directed to me and these two reverend prelates, by which we are enjoined to examine you upon some points of faith, in which your orthodoxy is doubted : we are required to press you to revoke your errors, if you still hold these pernicious opinions ; and to cut you off from the church, if you persist, and give you up to the civil power. Consider, Mr. Latimer, it is not more than twenty years since these novel opinions got footing amongst us. Till then the authority of the church of Rome was universally acknowledged. By what means it was first questioned in England, and on what unjustifiable motives a schism was occasioned, I might easily shew  
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at large—but I spare the dead. Let it suffice, that the nation, having long sought rest in a multiplicity of new inventions, and found none, hath again submitted itself to its mother church; and, by one unanimous act, the result of penitence and contrition, hath atoned for its apostacy. Why then should you oppose the unanimity of a whole people? Confess your fault, and unite your penitence with theirs. It hath been a common error, let it be a general humiliation. Among such numbers, the shame of each individual will be lost. Come then in peace, for we will kindly receive you into the bosom of that church, whose authority, derived from the first apostle, depends on scriptures, fathers, and councils; that church, within which there can be no error, and without which there can be no salvation.”

Here the bishop pausing, Mr. Latimer stood up, and thanked him for his gentle treatment of him; but, at the same time, assured him, how vain it was to expect from him any acknowledgment of the pope. He did not believe, he said, that any such jurisdiction had been given to the see of Rome, nor had the bishops of Rome behaved as if their power had been from God. He then quoted a popish book, which had lately been written, to shew how grossly the papists would misrepresent scripture: and concluded with saying, that he thought the clergy had nothing to do with temporal power, nor ought ever to be intrusted with it; and that their commission  
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from their master, in his opinion, extended no farther than to the discharge of their pastoral functions. To this the bishop of Lincoln replied, "That he thought his stile not quite so decent as it might be ; and that as to the book which he quoted, he knew nothing of it." At this the old bishop seemed to express his surprize, and told him, that although he did not know the author of it, yet it was written by a person of name, the bishop of Gloucester.

This produced some mirth among the audience, as the bishop of Gloucester sat then upon the bench. That prelate, finding himself thus publicly challenged, rose up, and, addressing himself to Mr. Latimer, paid him some compliments upon his learning, and then spoke in vindication of his book. But his zeal carrying him too far, the bishop of Lincoln, interrupting him, said, "We came not here my lord, to dispute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his answer to certain articles, which shall be proposed to him."

These articles were much the same as those on which he had been brought to dispute the year before. They were accordingly read, and Mr. Latimer answered them all, as he then did ; at the same time protesting, which protestation he begged might be registered, that, notwithstanding his answers to the pope's commissioners, he by no means acknowledged the authority of the pope. The notaries having taken down his answers and protestation,



testation, the bishop of Lincoln told him, "That, as far as he could, he would shew lenity to him : that the answers which he had now given in, should not be prejudicial to him ; but that he should be called upon the next morning, when he might make what alterations he pleased ; and that he hoped in God, he would then find him in a better temper." To this the old bishop answered, "That he begged, they would do with him then just what they pleased, and that he might not trouble them, nor they him, another day ; that as to his opinions, he was fixed in them, and that any respite would be needless." The bishop, however, told him, that he must appear the next morning, and then dissolved the assembly.

Accordingly, the next morning, the commissioners sitting in the same form, he was brought in : and when the tumult was composed, the bishop of Lincoln told him, that although he might justly have proceeded to judgment against him, the day before, yet he could not help postponing it one day longer. "In hopes, said he, Sir, that you might reason yourself into a better way of thinking, and at length embrace, what we all so much desire, that mercy, which our holy church now, for the last time, offereth to you." "Alas ! my lord, answered Mr. Latimer, your indulgence is to no purpose. When a man is convinced of a truth, even to deliberate is unlawful. I am fully resolved against the church

church of Rome ; and, once for all, my answer is, I never will embrace its communion. If you urge me farther, I will reply as St. Cyprian did, on a like occasion. He stood before his judges, upon a charge of heresy ; and being asked, which were more probably of the church of Christ, he and his party, who were every where despised, or they, his judges, who were every where in esteem ; he answered resolutely, " That Christ had decided that point, when he mentioned it, as a mark of his disciples, that they should take up their cross and follow him." If this then, my lords, be one of the characteristics of the Christian church, whether shall we denominate by that name, the church of Rome, which hath always been a persecutor, or that small body of Christians, which is persecuted by it ? " You mention, Sir, replied Lincoln, with a bad grace, your cause and St. Cyprian's together : they are wholly different." " No, my lord, answered the old bishop, his was the word of God, and so is mine."

The notaries having now closed the books, the bishop of Lincoln, who, through the whole of this cruel business, had acted with as much humanity, rather than decency, as was possible, once more pressed Mr. Latimer, in a very pathetic manner, to retract his opinion : but being answered by a steady negative, he at length passed sentence upon him. Mr. Latimer then asked him, whether there laid any appeal from this judgment ? " To whom, said the bishop

of Lincoln, would you appeal?" "To the next general council, answered Mr. Latimer, that shall be regularly assembled." "It will be a long time, replied the bishop, before Europe will see such a council as you mean." Having said this, he committed Mr. Latimer to the custody of the mayor, and dissolved the assembly. On the same day, likewise, sentence was passed on the bishop of London, and the 16th of October, about a fortnight from this time, was fixed for their execution.

On the north side of the town, near Balliol-college, a spot of ground was chosen for the place of execution. Hither, on the sixteenth, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and other persons of distinction, appointed for that purpose, repaired early in the morning; and a guard being drawn round the place, the prisoners were sent for. The bishop of London first entered this dreadful circle, accompanied by the mayor: soon after, bishop Latimer was brought in. The former was dressed in his episcopal habit; the latter, as usual, in his prison-attire. This difference in their dress made a moving contrast, and augmented the concern of the spectators: the bishop of London shewing what they had before been; bishop Latimer, what they were now reduced to.

While they stood before the stake, about to prepare themselves for the fire, they were informed, they must first hear a sermon; and, soon after, Dr. Smith, of whom mention hath  
already

already been made, ascended a pulpit, prepared for that purpose, and preached on these words of St. Paul, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing?" In his discourse he treated the two bishops with great inhumanity, aspersing both their characters and tenets. The sermon being ended, the bishop of London was beginning to say something in defence of himself, when the vice-chancellor, starting up suddenly from his seat, ran towards him, and stopping his mouth with his hand, told him, "That if he was going to recant, he should have leave: but he should be permitted in nothing farther." The bishop, thus checked, looking round, with a noble air, cried out, "We commit our cause then to Almighty God." And immediately an officer stepped up, and acquainted them, "That, at their leisure, they might now make ready for the stake."

The attention of the spectators, at length, burst into tears, when they saw these two venerable men now preparing for death. When they considered, as Mr. Fox observes, their preferments, the places of honour they held in the commonwealth, the favour they stood in with their princes, their great learning, and greater piety, they were overwhelmed with sorrow to see so much dignity, so much honour, so much estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, and so much excellent learning, about to be con-



sumed in one moment. Mr. Latimer, having thrown off the old gown, which was wrapped about him, appeared in a shroud, prepared for the purpose; and "whereas before, says Mr. Fox, he seemed a withered and crooked old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father, as one might lightly behold."

Being thus ready, he recommended his soul to God, and delivered himself to the executioner, saying to the bishop of London, "We shall this day, my lord, light such a candle in England, as shall never be extinguished." But we will draw a veil over the conclusion of this shocking scene, and only add, that they went through their last suffering with that composure and firmness of mind, which nothing but a sound faith and a good conscience could produce.



B  M



*Male del*  
*Jn. Hooper Bish. of Gloucester & Worcester*  
*Engraved by*

## THE LIFE OF

## JOHN HOOPER.

**T**HIS great divine, who was born in 1495, was a native of Somersetshire, and received his academical education at Merton-college in Oxford, where he was sent in 1514, and placed under the tuition of his uncle John Hooper, who was made master-fellow of that house in 1513, and was also principal of St. Alban's-hall. In 1518, John Hooper, the nephew, was admitted batchelor of arts, which was the highest degree he took in this university; and, about the same time, completed it by determination. What became of him after, is not exactly known; but it is reported, that he was of the number of Cistercians, commonly called White Monks, and continued so for years, till he grew weary of a monastic life, and returned to Oxford, where he was converted to Lutheranism by books brought from Germany, and soon became a zealous protestant.

In 1539, when the statute of the six articles was put in execution, he left Oxford, and got into the service of Sir Thomas Arundel, a Devonshire gentleman, to whom he became chaplain, and steward of his estate. This gentleman was a very catholic knight, and was afterwards



terwards put to death with the protector, in the reign of Edward VI. He soon discovered that Hooper was a protestant, who thereby lost his protection, and was obliged to fly into France, where he continued some time among the reformed, till his dislike of some of their proceedings made him return to England.

On his arrival in his native country, he lived with a gentleman named Seintlow, where he became known, and was sought after, to be apprehended. Upon this, he disguised himself like a sailor, and went to Ireland, from whence he went to Holland, and so on to Switzerland. Bullinger was then at Zurich, where he succeeded Zuinglius in the chair. He had been obliged to forsake his country on account of religion, and therefore gave a very friendly reception to Hooper, who was remarkable for his knowledge in the Greek and Hebrew languages.

Edward VI. came to the crown in 1547, and Hooper came to England again, when he settled in London, where he frequently preached to the people on several reformed doctrinal heads, and particularly against pluralities.

He was now appointed chaplain to the duke of Somersset, and, perhaps, was more severely treated on that account, when his great patron lost the protectorship. In 1549, he became an accuser of Bonner, when he was to be deprived of his bishopric, which made him  
fare

fare the worse, when queen Mary came to the crown.

After Hooper had practised himself in his popular and common kind of preaching, he was called to preach before the king, who, in 1550, made him bishop of Gloucester, and, about two years after, he had the bishopric of Worcester given to him, to keep in commendam with the former. The earl of Warwick recommended Hooper to this preferment, as a man who had all those virtues and qualities required by St. Paul in a good bishop, in his epistle to Timothy. But Hooper, having resided in Switzerland, and imbibed some odd notions there, was the means of introducing those disputes about things indifferent, which have produced, since that time, such fatal consequences in the church.

It was customary to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops used; first, a chymere, and under that a white rochet; then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. The most sensible men are not without their weaknesses and whims. Hooper was a man of learning, and of parts; but he had taken it into his head, that, as these sacerdotal vestments were mere human inventions, brought into the church by custom or tradition, and invented chiefly for celebrating the mass, and consecrated for that use, so they were therefore among the ceremonies condemned by St. Paul as beggarly elements. In answer to this, it

was told him, by archbishop Cranmer, and bishop Ridley, that, though tradition, in matters of faith, was justly to be rejected; yet, in rites and ceremonies which were indifferent, custom alone was a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long used. The archbishop, therefore, required Hooper to conform himself to the law, but he obstinately refused a rochet, and Cranmer refused to consecrate him without it. The earl of Warwick, who was then in the highest credit at court, wrote a letter to the archbishop, desiring him not to insist upon these ceremonies from the bishop elect of Gloucester; nor to charge him with an oath burthensome to his conscience.

Warwick also prevailed on the king to write a letter to Cranmer in favour of Hooper: but Cranmer still insisted that he should conform himself in all points; and denied him the liberty of the pulpit, while the council confined him to his house. Cranmer consulted Bucer and Martyr upon this occasion, who were also consulted by Hooper.

Hooper continued strong in his prepossession, and many arguments were urged on both sides; which later ages have more amply enlarged and explained. Hooper then published a confession of his faith; in which he complained of the privy-council. Upon this he was committed to the custody of the archbishop, who used all his endeavours to bring Hooper off from his singularities, but without effect.

effect. His grace then informed the council, that his prisoner was not content with his non-conformity, but had offered to prescribe rules on this head to the public; whereupon the council ordered his grace to send him to the Fleet: and he continued there till the next year.

At last the earl of Warwick deserted his chaplain; and the affair of Hooper, which had slept from August to March, whilst he remained in the Fleet, was resumed. He was brought before the council, to explain himself upon the difficulties which he had started. The objection he made to the oath was, The swearing by God, the saints, and the holy gospels, when none but God himself ought to be appealed to in an oath. Upon this the king struck out these words with his own hand, and allowed that no creature ought to be sworn by. As to the point about the vestments, it was compromised on these conditions: he was to wear the episcopal habit, which was prescribed when he was consecrated, and when he preached before the king, or in his cathedral, and in any public place; and, on other occasions, he was dispensed with.

Thus Hooper was consecrated bishop of Gloucester, on the eighth of March, 1551, and then preached before the king in his episcopal habit. When he entered into his diocese, "He left no pains untaken, nor ways unfought, how to train up the flock of



Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. He preached often, kept good hospitality for the poorer sort of people, and was beloved by all."

The see of Gloucester was looked upon as a poor pittance for so great a divine; and, on the twentieth of May, 1552, he was declared bishop of Worcester, in the room of Heath, who was then a prisoner in the Fleet, for refusing to assent to the book of ordinations. Hooper was permitted to hold Worcester in commendam with Gloucester; for which he was censured by the papists. "But let such know, that the dioceses of Gloucester and Worcester lie contiguous; that many single bishoprics in England are larger than both, for extent in land and number of parishes; that Dunstan had the bishopric of Worcester and Lincoln with it, at the same time, being far more remote; that it is not the having two bishoprics together, but the neglecting of one, is the sin: whereas Hooper, in preaching and visiting, afforded double diligence in his double dioceses."

When king Edward died, in 1553, religion was subverted, and this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for by queen Mary to be at London, to answer Heath, the deprived bishop, and Bonner, bishop of London, for being one of his accusers. Hooper was seasonably advised to make his escape; but he was determined to bear the storm, and said,  
 "Once

"Once I fled, and took me to my feet; now I will continue to live and die with my sheep."

He was brought up to London by a pur-  
suivant, in August, and was opprobiously re-  
ceived by the bishop of Winchester, who com-  
mitted him prisoner to the Fleet on the first of  
September following. He remained there se-  
veral months; during which time he was often  
examined, and required to recant his opini-  
ons; but he stood constant and resolute to the  
articles of his faith.

The council proceeded with vigour in mat-  
ters of heresy, and removed Cranmer, Ridley,  
and Latimer, to dispute with some members  
of the convocation at Oxford, where they all  
suffered martyrdom. There was a design of  
the same nature to be executed at Cambridge,  
over some other bishops and eminent clergy,  
who were in the several prisons of Newgate, the  
Fleet, and the King's-bench: but the prisoners  
sent forth a declaration, signed by Hooper,  
Ferrars, Coverdale bishop of Exeter, and seven  
divines, that they would not dispute, unless in  
writing, except it were before the queen and  
her council, or one of the houses of parlia-  
ment. To this declaration they added a sum-  
mary of their belief; for which, they said,  
they were ready to offer up their lives to the  
halter or the fire, as it should please God to  
appoint. This prevented any farther pub-  
lic conferences in religion; and it was deter-  
mined,

mined, to silence the protestants more effectually in another manner.

It was resolved that Hooper, as the most obnoxious to the government, if not the most popular in his own party, should be the leading sacrifice to popery. They called him before them on the twenty first of January, 1555, and offered him a pardon by the name of John Hooper, clerk, not acknowledging him to have been a bishop, if he would confess his heresies, and return to the church; which he absolutely refused.

Three articles were then exhibited against him; for marrying, for allowing a divorce and second marriage in the case of fornication, and for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. Hooper owned himself guilty of the accusation, but offered to defend himself against all who should maintain the contrary. He behaved with all humility to the bishops, who treated him with the utmost insolence, and remanded him back to prison.

The two bloody bishops of London and Winchester had a personal animosity against Hooper, who behaved with all the constancy of a primitive martyr. He had kept up a correspondence with Bullinger, and others of the reformed abroad, to whom he sent his wife Anne and her children; and he was at very little pains to conceal his sentiments, none having been more active, or more successful, than he was in the cause of reformation.

(Bullinger)

Bullinger

Bullinger wrote him a letter from Zurich, dated the tenth of October, 1554, wherein he desires Hooper to commend him to the most reverend fathers and holy confessors of Christ, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. He exhorts them all to be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, and be faithful unto the end; as Christ was their captain, and all the prophets, and apostles, and martyrs, their fellow soldiers.

The commissioners had declared that Hooper ought to be deprived of his bishopric, and he was brought before them again, on the twenty-second of January, at the bishop of Winchester's house at St. Mary Overey's. He was then asked to acknowledge the pope to be head of the church; which he denied, as the pope taught a doctrine directly contrary to the doctrine of Christ; therefore he would not condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction; neither esteemed he the church, of which they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ: "for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the strangers."

He was commanded back to the Fleet, and brought before the commissioners again on the twenty-eighth of January, together with Mr. John Rogers, vicar of St. Paul's. They were both examined, and sent away, to be brought into court the next morning, to see if they would relent. They were conducted  
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to the Compter, in Southwark, by the sheriffs of London; and Hooper said to Rogers, as they walked through the street surrounded by the populace, "Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" Rogers answered, "Yes, sir, by God's grace." "Doubt not," replied Hooper, "but God will give you grace."

The next morning they were brought again before the commissioners, who sat in judgment in St. Mary-Overy's church. Hooper would, by no means, condescend to the commissioners, who condemned him to be degraded, and ordered him to be carried to the Clink, a prison near the bishop of Winchester's house; from whence he was removed to Newgate the same night. The people prayed for him as he was guarded through the streets: and he was kept close prisoner in Newgate six days.

During this time, he was frequently visited by Bonner and his chaplains, who vainly endeavoured to make him a convert to their church. They offered him wealth and preferment, which he despised; and then they spread a report that he had recanted. This report soon came to his ears, at which he was greatly grieved; and, on the second of February, wrote a letter to disprove that false and malicious story; and, to assure the world, that he was more than ever confirmed in the protestant faith, saying, "I have taught the truth with  
my

my tongue, and with my pen heretofore, and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same, by God's grace, with my blood."

The bishop of London came to Newgate, and degraded Hooper; after reading the sentence of his degradation, wherein Hooper is called a presbyter, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester; by whose definitive sentence he was pronounced, "An open, obstinate, and incorrigible heretic;" and, as such, was to be degraded from his order; and, for these demerits, to be delivered to the secular power. In degrading this blessed bishop, they proceeded not against him as a bishop, but only as against a priest, as they termed him; for such as he was, these Balaamites accounted no bishop.

Rogers was degraded at the same time, and died a martyr in Smithfield: but Hooper was impolitically sent by the government to die at Gloucester, that the hearers of his doctrine might be the witnesses of his sufferings. By the order that was sent to burn him at Gloucester, the sheriff was directed to call in some of reputation in the county to assist at his execution; and, because he was, says the order, a vain-glorious person, as all heretics are, he was neither suffered to speak at large in going to his execution, nor at the place, for avoiding further infection.

On the first of February, before day-light, he was brought by the sheriffs from Newgate,  
to.

to a place appointed near St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, where he was received by a body of the queen's guards, who were to carry him to Gloucester. He eat a hearty breakfast, and leaped chearfully on horseback without help. On the seventh he arrived at Gloucester, where he found all the citizens assembled to see him, who cried and lamented his condition.

The next morning some of his friends were permitted to see him, among whom was Sir Anthony Kingston, who found the good bishop at his prayers, and burst forth into tears as he spoke in this manner: "I understand you are come here to die; but, alas! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter; therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live, for life hereafter may do good." The bishop answered, "Indeed I am come here to end this life, and to suffer death, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have taught in this diocese and elsewhere. I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life; but have settled myself, through the strength of God's holy spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than deny the truth of his word."

The same night he was committed by the guard to the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester, who, with the mayor and aldermen, attended him with great respect. He thanked them for their civility, and requested the sheriffs,

riffs, That there might be quick fire, shortly to make an end.—He told them, He was not come there as one compelled to die; for it was well known, he might have had his life with worldly gain; but, as one willing to offer and give his life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to the high displeasure and dishonour of God; and he trusted, by God's grace, the next day to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen.—He was not carried to the common jail of the city, called North-gate, but lodged in the house of Mr. Robert Ingram, where he spent the night in devotion.

About eight the next morning, being the fifth of February, 1555, the commissioners appointed to see the execution came to the house; and at nine the bishop was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, and led to the stake between them, like a lamb going to the slaughter. It was market day, and about seven thousand people were assembled on the occasion; which made him say, "Alas! why are these people here? Perhaps they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past; but, alas! speech is prohibited me; notwithstanding the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine out of the word  
of



of God; because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this death is prepared for me."

He was dressed in a gown of his host's; a hat on his head, and a staff in his hand to support him, as the sciatica, which he had contracted in prison, made him halt. The people mourned for him all the way, and he looked very chearfully upon such as he knew. He frequently lifted up his eyes to Heaven, as he passed along; and he was never known, since his being their bishop, to look with so lively and chearful a countenance as he did at that time.

When he came to the stake, which was opposite the college of priests, where he used to preach, he beheld the preparations for his death with a composed and smiling countenance. The place was surrounded with spectators, and the priests of the college were in the chamber over the college-gate. As the bishop was not permitted to speak to the people, he kneeled down to prayer, and beckoned to Mr. Bridges, whom he knew, to hear it; which he did with great attention, and reported, that the prayer was made upon the whole Creed; wherein the bishop continued about half an hour, and declared his faith in the form of prayer. When he was in the middle of his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him on a stool, with his pardon from the queen, if he would recant. When he saw  
it,

It, he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it; if you love my soul, away with it." He was then permitted to proceed in his prayer, which he concluded in these words: "Lord strengthen me with thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory."

When prayer was done, he prepared himself for the stake, and was undressed to his shirt, which he thrust between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. A flood of tears burst from the eyes of all the spectators as he was fastened to the stake, from whence he directed the executioner where to place the fire, which was soon kindled; but the wood burning ill, and the wind blowing away the flame, that it did not rise up and suffocate him, nor destroy his vitals, he was for a long time in the utmost torment. He frequently called to the people, for the love of God, to bring him more fire; which, though it was renewed, was prevented by the wind from putting him out of his misery, till he had been near three quarters of an hour in burning.

He wrote twenty-four books and treatises when in prison: besides, he wrote the Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. His writings are mostly these: Answer to Gardiner's book, intitled, "A Detection

tection of the Devil's Sophistry : A Declaration of Christ and his Office : Lesson of the Incarnation of Christ : Sermons on Jonas : A Godly Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith ; Homily to be read in the Time of the Pestilence." All these were wrote from 1549 to 1553 : and he afterwards wrote " Epistola ad Episcopos, &c. An Exhortation to Patience," sent to his wife : " Sentences wrote in Prison : Comfortable Expositions on the twenty-third, sixty-second, seventy-third, and seventy-seventh Psalms : Annotations on the thirteenth chapter to the Romans : Twelve Lectures upon the Creed : Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments of Almighty God : " and he also translated Tertullian's second book to his wife, concerning the choise of a husband or wife.

### END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



